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Rutskoy Attends Religious Forum, Seeks Pan-Yugoslav Talks

LD1905152393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Spiritual communion will consolidate peoples and will halt the process of disintegration—this is how Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy assessed the significance of the establishment of the Conference of Eastern Christian Peoples at today's meeting with representatives of the organizing committee of this new organization, already termed the Byzantine Movement. It comprises public, religious, and political figures from 12 countries—from Greece and Cyprus to Russia and Armenia. These people have set for themselves the humane tasks of peaceably influencing the evolutionary processes in society, helping governments extricate themselves from difficult situations and resolve complex problems, and restoring spiritual, ethical and moral values.

The first steps the Conference of Eastern Christian Peoples intends to take is to take part in quelling the hotbeds of conflicts in Yugoslavia, Abkhazia, and Karabakh. To begin with, Rutskoy suggested that pan-Yugoslav talks are held so that all the sides engaged in the conflict could make their positions clear, since it is the Vice President's conviction that the use of force in interethnic conflicts does not solve problems. The first forum of the conference of spiritually close Eastern Christian peoples is set to be in Moscow in October.

Paris Meeting Views Belarus Financial Status

LD2405214693 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1800 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] A meeting of the consultative group of international financial organizations started today in Paris. It is dedicated to the problems of cooperation with Belarus. From the moment our republic joined the World Bank, relations with that large international credit and financial organization have been developing successfully and dynamically. This has been reflected in a number of specific projects and ventures.

Belarusian economic problems are being discussed in Paris by the G-7 countries, Austria, Belgium, Netherlands, and Switzerland as well as leading international economic and financial organizations. Such a large range of participants confirms interest on the part of the international community in the successful development of economic reforms in Belarus. The meeting in Paris on the problems of Belarus also has the objective of coordinating technical assistance to the republic and attracting the attention of international economic circles to the most significant problems of reviving the Belarusian economy and the need for external support for their solutions. In the opinion of IMF employees, the arguments in favor of the strategy that envisages a faster implementation of Belarusian reforms are reinforced by the fact that the state of Belarus' external accounts is deteriorating rapidly. Under current policy, if one presumes that energy prices will reach the world level during the next 1-2 years, it is obvious that Belarus' need for loans will reach an unacceptable scale. In order to overcome that situation, it needs a more considerable [word indistinct] and a comprehensive strategy of market reform.

Experts Discuss Chemical Weapon Disposal Problems, Solutions

PM2505153193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 May 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Doigikh report: "Ridding the World of Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] The First Moscow International Conference on Chemical Weapons has ended in the capital's President Hotel. Its participants were scientists, politicians, military men, and industrialists from many countries. They examined political, scientific, technical, socioeconomic, and legal questions of the destruction of chemical weapons, the conversion of military production processes, and procedures for verification and inspection activity with regard to compliance with convention pledges.

Some 500 billion rubles and $500 million—this is what it is expected to cost to destroy Russian stocks of chemical weapons. It is clear that it will be extremely difficult for our country to cope with this task on its own. Assistance will therefore be needed from the world community, it was pointed out at the conference.

The specialists examined a number of proposed projects for the destruction of chemical weapons. The chief criterion is how safe any particular solution is for people and the environment. Unique techniques have been developed in Russia for the efficient detoxification of toxins, which can subsequently be used to produce various materials. Lewisite, for example, is a source product for the production of a particularly pure metallic arsenic used in electronics. In this connection, the Committee on Convention Problems of Chemical and Biological Weapons under the Russian Federation president believes, not without grounds, that businessmen—both Russian and foreign—can be involved in the process of elimination.

It is proposed that the destruction of the stocks of Russian chemical weapons will begin in 1997.

Ukranian Defense Ministry Denies Reports on Navy Head's Dismissal

LD2605055193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Defense Ministry has refuted reports of some Russian media stating that Vice Admiral Boris Kozhin, commander of the Ukrainian Navy, had been dismissed for not respecting the Yalta agreements on the Black Sea Fleet. The ministry has also refuted reports that the Ukrainian military leadership allegedly intends to appoint Vladimir Beskaravainyy, commander of the submarine division of the Northern Fleet, instead of Kozhin. The statement by the press service of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry indicates that Vice Admiral Boris Kozhin continues to lead the Ukrainian Navy.

Russian Troop Withdrawal From Baltics Reported

WS2505084993 Tallinn BNS in English 1605 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 22, BNS—Colonel General Leonid Mayorov, commander of Russia's North-Western Group of Forces, reported to BNS correspondent that 55 per cent of personnel and military equipment stationed in the Lithuanian republic had been withdrawn from the republic, while on the whole, the strength of forces withdrawn from the Baltic states did not exceed 40 percent. The discrepancy is growing because withdrawal of troops from Latvia and Estonia has been suspended.

At the same time the general noted that military trains are still making their way from the Baltics to Russia. However, they are only exporting ammunitions. In Mayorov's words, a great number of ammunition accumulated on the territory of the Baltic states after the second world war. He reported that today about 22,000 tons of ammunitions are kept at only one depot in Lithuania. There are not enough soldiers to load the ammunitions and Russia will be able to export all ammunitions not earlier than August 1994, says Mayorov.

Out of 800 cars with ammunitions to be exported only from Lithuania only two cars are loaded with shells destined for destruction due to "aging." All the rest will be used by Russia—for firing training, in particular.

Mayorov added that Russia had preserved its strategic sites only on Latvia's territory. These sites represent a modern warning system in case of a missile strike and it can be used in the interests both of Russia and of the whole world, said the general. However, we fail to force Latvia to agree in order to jointly use these sites, the commander underlined.

Mayorov believes that not all problems related to withdrawal of forces have been solved. The major one concerns construction of dwellings. "But we can say that Lithuania solves these problems more productively than Latvia and Estonia,—says the NWGF commander—Lithuania's leadership understands that it is necessary to render assistance to Russia as concerns accommodations and construction of living conditions for servicemen withdrawn from its territory." That is why the parties observe the schedule of troop withdrawal signed last year and have determined the final pull-out date: August 31, 1993.

And quite on the contrary, the Russian President was forced to make a statement with respect to Latvia and Estonia on suspension of forces withdrawal from their territories. Mayorov noted that these Baltic states do not wish to assist Russia in accommodation of the units destined to be withdrawn from their territory.

Moreover, several statements of Estonia's leaders call Russian forces "occupation" ones and this hinders the search for compromises.

Khasbulatov Views Commonwealth Economic Role

PM2505134193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 93 First Edition p 1, 7

[Yuriy Kukanov report: "Interparliamentary Assembly—Steps To Meet Halfway"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—The third plenary sitting of the Interparliamentary Assembly of CIS countries took place in the Tauride Palace 23 May. Parliamentary delegations from Azerbaijan, Moldova, and Ukraine attended as observers.

Opening the sitting, Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Interparliamentary Assembly Council, noted that the organization's activity is being ever more purposefully geared toward ensuring collaboration in solving topical problems concerning the Commonwealth. It was at the Assembly Council's initiative that measures were adopted to accelerate the process of coordinated ratification of agreements and treaties concluded by the CIS heads of state and government.

Ruslan Khasbulatov stressed that the path of isolated development and the hope of painlessly overcoming political, economic, military and other difficulties alone, let alone the expectation of mass foreign aid, are becoming increasingly illusory and unrealistic. It is no coincidence that there has been a switch from the wholesale collapse of economic links and the hasty sovereignization witnessed in the initial months following the creation of the CIS to a restoration of economic and military-political collaboration on a new basis—both within the framework of the Commonwealth as a whole and via bilateral relations. The results of recent meetings between heads of state and government and the restoration of links between many economic subjects of Commonwealth countries serve as an example of this. A solid base is being created for turning the Commonwealth into an effective instrument of political and economic stabilization, a guarantee of its participants' security.

The state of each country's economy and the development of economic interrelations concerns everybody. In Khasbulatov's opinion, this is the sphere wherein lies the

key to solving socioeconomic, political, and other problems. It is necessary in the most serious manner to set about clearing obstructions in the way of economic cooperation, to create favorable legal and economic conditions for direct links between enterprises and entrepreneurial structures, to regulate finance and currency-credit relations, to hone the coordination of investment policy, and to secure the preconditions for creating a common market and the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor resources, moving gradually toward economic union.

In this way, the Supreme Soviet chairman said, it would be possible to resolve a twofold task: to promote legislative provision for the radical modernization of the structure of national economies; and to promote the improvement of mechanisms for mutual relations and a gradual switch away from a policy of simply restoring economic relations toward a policy of coordinated and joint development, broadening opportunities to seek our own economic niche in the modern international community.

Ruslan Khasbulatov drew attention to a further aspect in the sphere of economic mutual relations—the blatant lack of coordination of legislation on economic issues. From the moment the process of sovereignization began, many countries started to invite representatives from various foreign states in the capacity of experts to elaborate draft laws, and they each contributed their own approach to the legislative acts. Instead of the standardized legislation which existed previously, a situation has emerged whereby national laws on economic issues even contradict each other to a certain degree.

Work on the passage of national legislation continued in the Tauride Palace. For the purposes of preserving and developing a common economic, legal, and information space, the drafts of three advisory legislative acts were adopted: "On Principles for Regulating Information Relations," "On General Principles for Regulating Customs Affairs," and "On General Principles for the Legal Regulation of Foreign Investments"; progress in preparing a draft convention "On Defending the Rights and Basic Freedoms of Individuals and National Minorities" was also discussed.

While examining the problems of cooperation in the defense sphere it was noted that the development of events in a number of Commonwealth countries and regions urgently requires joint peacemaking efforts from national parliaments to promote a peaceful solution to armed conflicts, and the Interparliamentary Assembly's readiness to coordinate steps to settle the situation in Tajikistan was confirmed.

In an adopted memorandum "On Accord in the Name of Security," the Interparliamentary Assembly urged parliaments, state and government heads, leaders of political parties, and chiefs of mass media sources "to wholly exclude in their activity appeals for violence or the use of force to resolve domestic political and interstate contradictions and the incitement of peoples to civil war and interethnic feuding."

The Interparliamentary Assembly Council adopted an appeal to parliaments on provisional (until the year 2000) authorization for servicemen possessing another citizenship to complete their military service in Commonwealth member-states.

An Azerbaijan National Assembly decree was distributed at the Interparliamentary Assembly's plenary sitting. It had been adopted in response to an appeal by the Supreme Soviet chairman on handing over six Russian servicemen to Russian Federation law-enforcement organs. Commenting on the document, Azerbaijan's representative V. Kasumov told a ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent that this question will be examined by National Assembly commissions in conjunction with Russian people's deputies, and he expressed a hope that the problem might be settled on the basis of mutual understanding. Ruslan Khasbulatov expressed satisfaction that his appeal had met with understanding in the Azerbaijani Parliament.

Border Guard Commanders Confer in Moscow

PM2505145393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 93 First Edition p 1

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA/ITAR-TASS report from "Here Is the News" roundup: "Border Commanders in Conference Again"]

[Text] A sitting of the CIS Council of Border Troops Commanders took place in Moscow.

They discussed questions of stepping up the responsibility of specific sides in guaranteeing stability on peripheral borders, measures to overcome the illegal migration of citizens of third countries, and terms for the completion of military service by servicemen stationed in states of which they are not citizens.

Ivashov Says CIS Recognizes Need for Collective Security

LD2505170093 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] General Leonid Ivashov of the CIS Joint Armed Forces has told Radio Moscow that most CIS countries are coming to the conclusion that a collective security system is necessary. He said it could become a link between the European security system, in which NATO acts as a guarantor, and the budding Asian security system.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 26 May

LD2605060993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0553 GMT 26 May 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, May 26 (TASS)—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (independent newspaper) comments on the Russian president's latest decree on the release on prices of petroleum products as follows: "A big lie of big-time politics. The president does not intend to fulfil pre-referendum promises".

"By his regular decree President Boris Yeltsin cancelled the respective clause of his own decree signed on the eve of the referendum, according to which the prices of petroleum products were to be frozen. Now, exactly one month after the polling, which brought deep satisfaction to the president, all those promises have been cast aside by himself", the newspaper writes.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA gives a number of examples when lies prevail "in the words and actions of a specific politician, the more so the one holding the top office in the state."

"Lately the percentage of the Russian Government's lies obviously exceeds the increasingly shrinking percentage of the truth. A lie is snowballing and has already turned into a big lie that has penetrated all the pores of the Kremlin politics", the newspaper observes, pointing out that the release of the prices of petroleum products will have far-reaching consequences for the Russian economy.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes that the parliamentary factions have been so far unable finally to decide on whether to participate in the work of a constituional assembly which opens in the Kremlin on June 5. "To some parliamentary factions, the question of the very possibility of their participation in such a 'political get- together' remains open," the newspaper emphasises.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes that 222 adjustments to the presidential draft constitution have come in from the subjects of the federation, parties, deputies and citizens.

These data were given at a briefing by Sergey Filatov, chief of the administration of the president. Tatarstan and Sakha (Yakutiya) strongly criticise the draft constitution's section concerning a federal set-up, the newspaper points out.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA quotes a Sakha parliament resolution as saying that "both drafts of a new constitution do not correspond to the provisions of the federative treaty, do not confirm the constitutional-treaty nature of the federation and fail to take into account the current constitution of the Republic of Sakha, thereby placing the republic outside the Russian Federation".

In PRAVDA, Yuriy Yarmagayev, candidate of science (economics), examines the presidential draft constitution clause-by-clause. Yermagayev draws the following conclusion: "The draft constitution has been drawn up with an eye to the specific person and has little in common with the genuinely democratic norms of the functioning of the state machinery," the newspaper notes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) raises the problem of protecting inventions, industrial designs, and trademarks. The problem was recently discussed at a session of the CIS interstate council.

Having analysed the council's decisions, the newspaper points out that it is essential to adopt an inter-state patents convention as soon as possible and pass law which would protect the intellectual wealth of the country.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes that "in Abkhazia, fragile truce, which the two conflicting sides try to maintain at all costs, has been established. [no closing quotation mark as received] The newspaper believes that "it is possible to consolidate peace only through direct talks between Georgian and Abkhazian authorities with the mediation of third parties. Russia and the United Nations organisation are prepared to be such parties," the newspaper emphasises.

"Everything that we do in the economic field, politics, social welfare, and in the transition to a market is basically connected with the ensurance of interethnic and social concord," President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan, told the newspaper TRUD.

The president of Uzbekistan has described socio-economic reforms in the republic as an evolutionary way of development. "Our people, just as, in my view, the Russian people do not accept anything connected with 'shock therapy', revolutionary or, rather, pseudo-revolutionary upheavals. We are against revolutionary leaps and are for an evolutionary, tried-and-tested way of development," Karimov said.

Churkin Visits Belgrade, Comments on Latest Peace Initiative

LD2505193893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 25 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] During their spring session in Brussels, the NATO countries have been discussing their possible participation in the protection of the security zones in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The creation of such zones is one of the elements of the new peace initiative which was taken by Russia, the United States, and West European countries the other day in Washington. At the same time, the commander in chief of NATO forces in Europe said that he does not yet know what role this bloc will play in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

[Correspondent Vladimir Solovyev] The arrival of the special envoy of the Russian president, Vitaliy Churkin, in Belgrade is a logical sequence to the Washington meeting of the five foreign ministers. Today, following the meeting with Serb President Slobodan Milosevic, Churkin flew off to Pristina, the capital of the autonomous region of Kosovo, where he met the regional leadership and leaders of the Afghan opposition.

[Begin recording] [Solovyev] Vitaliy Ivanovich, what are the consequences of the Washington meeting here in Belgrade?

[Churkin] Admittedly, the document of the Washignton meeting, a joint program of action which was adopted on the initiative of the Russian foreign minister and the foreign ministers of the five Security Council member states, was of course at the center of attention in all our conversations—both with the presidents of Yugoslavia and Serbia and leaders of Bosnian Serbs and leaders of the democratic opposition which exists here in Yugoslavia.

Admittedly, in all our conversations, without exception, this document was assessed extremely highly, as well as the role of Russian diplomacy in its adoption. I have brought here certain ideas which I shared with Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic regarding what exactly can be done by the Serb side even now to set in motion certain mechanisms worked out by Vance and Owen in order to stabilize the situation and to move forward in the direction of settlement. [end recording]

Sums Up Visit to Yugoslavia

LD2505230993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2155 GMT 25 May 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 May—All my Belgrade interlocutors have commended the joint action program of the foreign ministers of the "Yugoslav Five" for ending the war in Bosnia and have stressed Russia's constructive role in promoting a just settlement, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian president's special envoy, declared today.

At a meeting with Russian journalists in Belgrade, he announced that the leadership of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and the Bosnian Serbs voiced satisfaction that the road toward a settlement of the crisis has been outlined in a political framework rather than through military intervention, and also that greater room for maneuver has been provided for all the sides in Bosnia.

In accordance with the Russian blueprint for settlement by stages which formed the basis of the program, I advised people with whom I spoke to find everything acceptable and possible for them and to start concrete actions toward military detente in Bosnia; for example, to withdraw Bosnian Serb troops from territories on which they do not make claims. Vitaliy Churkin continued that in this regard I met with full understanding from the leadership of Yugoslavia and Serbia. The leaders of the Bosnian Serbs are in a condition of euphoria, still thinking that they are winners.

However, the Russian diplomat said that now is not the time to rejoice. It is necessary to take concrete steps in order to consolidate the peace process because only this way leads to easing and lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia. The position of the West regarding sanctions is very tough. It intends to speak about it only if there are real improvements as far as the withdrawal of troops and political settlement are concerned, Vitaliy Churkin noted.

The Russian president's special envoy expressed a certain understanding of the negative attitude of Yugoslavia and Serbia toward the deployment of foreign observers on the border between Yugoslavia and Bosnia. My collocutors told me, he reported, that the decision of Belgrade on limiting aid to the Bosnian Serbs created the impression that it is that part of the Serbian people who have been left to the mercy of fate. Therefore the involvement of foreigners in the monitoring of the frontier has evoked even more painful feelings among people.

Sharing his impressions of his trip to Kosovo, V. Churkin noted that the stand taken by the "Yugoslav Five" on the unacceptability of separating Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia fully corresponds to reality and may play a positive role in averting a fresh interethnic conflict. On the basis of the meetings held in Pristina, including the conversations with CSCE observers, I got the impression that most of the accusations levelled at the Serbian side regarding oppression of the Albanians are simply made up; although, naturally, the status of the autonomy of Kosovo needs to be heightened, within the framework of Serbia, the Russian diplomat stressed.

Says Bosnia Serbs Get Supplies From FRY

PM2605104193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 May 93 p 7

[Sergey Gryzunov and Andrey Baturin report: "Stop Press"]

[Text] Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian Federation president's special representative, has assessed the results of his visit to Belgrade as very positive. The aim of his trip was to have a detailed discussion with the Yugoslav top federal and republic leadership on the Washington declaration on the peaceful settlement of the Bosnia crisis. As is well known, the initiators of this document were the United States, Russia, Britain, France, and Spain.

The Yugoslav side assessed the five-country Washington declaration as an "important step toward peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina." At the same time, not all points of the declaration were to official Belgrade's liking. Thus, Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic does not consider it necessary to deploy observers along the entire length of the Yugoslav-Bosnian border. In his opinion, there are other technical ways and means to verify if Belgrade is carrying out its pledges to stop supplies to the Bosnian Serbs. Yet the Russian president's special representative told us in an interview that, according to his information, supplies are reaching Bosnia from Yugoslavia in the same amounts as before.

The deputy foreign minister also met with the leaders of Serbia's two influential democratic opposition parties—Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement; and Dragoljub Micunovic, chairman of the Democratic Party. Vuk Drashkovich told journalists that he had warned the Russian president's special representative that no particular trust should be placed in official Belgrade's promises, since it says one thing and does another.

Further on Meeting With Opposition

PM2505155193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Konstantin Eggert report: "Sarajevo and Zagreb Condemn Washington Plan for Peaceful Settlement in Bosnia"]

[Excerpts] The plan for a peaceful settlement in Bosnia worked out by Russia, the United States, France, Britain, and Spain has come under the threat of being wrecked only 24 hours after its promulgation. [passage omitted citing criticism of peace plan by Bosnian President Izetbegovic, Croatian leadership]

Russian diplomacy, which has made such great efforts to push a settlement option acceptable to the Serbs, has encountered new demands from Belgrade and the leaders of the self-proclaimed Serbian Republic in Bosnia. President Yeltsin's special representative Vitaliy Churkin, who has visited the Yugoslav capital, was informed in extremely categorical form by FRY President Dobrica Cosic that Belgrade does not agree to the deployment of international observers along the border between Serbia and Bosnia, just as it does not agree to an increase in the number of international observers in Kosovo.

Thus, two of the most important points of the new peace-making initiative are under attack. It is unlikely that Churkin will be able to obtain a softening of the Serb position from President Slobodan Milosevic, a meeting with whom is scheduled for Tuesday. The Yugoslav side's demands are becoming increasingly tough: Cosic told the Russian representative: "Our people will not approve the plan adopted in Washington if it says nothing about a possible easing of sanctions."

Meanwhile, Secretary of State Warren Christopher has already had to defend the initiative adopted Sunday [23 May] from criticism by influential congressmen. Democrat Senator Daniel Moynihan called it "the legalization of genocide," while Bob Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate, stated: "The Washington initiative sanctions the elimination of Bosnia as a state."

Christopher observed in reply: "The current policy is, to a very great degree, in the interests of the United States of America." However, he was forced to admit, Washington's current approach to the Bosnian crisis cannot be called final. Undoubtedly, in the near future the Clinton administration will have to face even harsher criticism from members of Congress, and not only from opposition Republicans but also from some Democrats.

Comments on Results of Negotiations

LD2605122493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Officials in Belgrade assess positively the program of joint actions to settle the Bosnian conflict recently coordinated in Washington by foreign ministers of Russia, the United States, Britain, France, and Spain. This conclusion follows from the results of the Russo-Yugoslav consultations Russian president's special envoy Vitaliy Churkin has been conducting these days in Yugoslavia.

The program of the Yugoslav Five is largely seen as a new chance to prevent a military intervention in the Balkans and continue the search for a political settlement of the Bosnian crisis, but the most important thing is a reaction of Bosnia's warring factions themselves. This is the reason why Boris Yeltsin's special envoy, Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, has been flying between Moscow and Belgrade, where he has held a new series of consultations recently.

Asked by Radio Moscow how the Washington agreement on a peace settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina was accepted in Belgrade, Vitaliy Churkin said the following:

[Churkin, in Russian fading to English report] The document of the Washington meeting, the joint program

of action initiated by Russia's foreign minister, was of course the highlight of all discussions. It was the subject matter of the talks with the presidents of Yugoslavia and Serbia, leaders of the Bosnian Serbs and the democratic opposition which exists in Yugoslavia. All of them gave a high appraisal of the document and the role of Russian diplomacy in its adoption. Furthermore, Vitaliy Churkin said, while meeting the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, he shared considerations with him as to what the Serb side could do already now to put to operation some mechanisms of the peace plan enabling to stabilize the situation and move forward to peace. According to Vitaliy Churkin, only concrete steps may lead to a lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia and provide (?real shift) in the world community's attitude to the Yugoslav problem.

Yugoslav's Cosic on Origins, Evolution of Conflict

PM2605100993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 May 93 p 7

[Interview with Yugoslav President Cosic by RIA NOVOSTI correspondents Aleksandr Slabynko, Sergey Gryzunov, and Andrey Baturin specially for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, in Belgrade; date not given: "Dobrica Cosic: I Support a Confederative Bosnia-Herzegovina. President of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Ways to Peace in the Balkans"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] The situation is currently very uneasy in many parts of the former Yugoslavia. A war is under way, but we can remember other, more peaceful times. What is the reason for everything that is happening now? How do you assess the current situation?

[Cosic] Our problems started with the collapse of the former Yugoslav Federation, which resulted in interethnic and civil wars flaring up. The result of all this has been catastrophic. When you add the sanctions which have destroyed the country's economy, you have more than a full picture. The efforts to convince the world of our peace-loving policy and desire for the speediest end to the Bosnia conflict have run up against a lack of understanding. The international community's stance in respect of the three parties to the Bosnian war has not been unprejudiced. The main responsibility for the emergence of the crisis was laid exclusively at the door of the Serbs, Belgrade, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. First, this is not true, and second, the war cannot be stopped solely through our goodwill.

Yugoslavia is not the aggressor in Bosnia-Herzegovina; it is merely providing humanitarian and financial aid to the Serbs in distress there. Serbia and Montenegro supported the Vance-Owen peace plan, although they completely recognize its shortcomings. Belgrade has proved through its policy that it sincerely wants peace, the establishment of which is vitally important for it. At the same time, the international community has closed its eyes to Croatian aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to the arming of the Muslims. The lack of objectivity and the mistakes in the international community's behavior with regard to the Bosnian conflict are also visible in today's fierce armed clashes between the Muslims and the Croats. As you know, they signed the Vance-Owen Plan, but that did not prevent them immediately using arms to settle their own territorial disputes. The Bosnian Serb referendum has shown that Bosnia's Serbs were not prepared to accept the international plan. In other words, the settlement of the crisis has been deadlocked yet again. Despite this, Yugoslavia approves the basis of the Vance-Owen Plan.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Nonetheless, following the categorical "no" in the Bosnian Serb referendum, many people are skeptical about its implementation.

[Cosic] If you want to know my own view—I support a confederative [konfederativnyy] Bosnia-Herzegovina. A confederation of three equal peoples, three ethnic formations. I am convinced that this would be a democratic solution that would guarantee peace, but the international community has chosen another route and has abandoned the idea in the so-called Lisbon agreements envisaging a confederal [konfederalnyy] principle for the state system in this former Yugoslav republic.

Yet, as a writer who has dealt with the history of the Balkans for several decades, I am confident that there should be some fundamental changes in the near future. These will be linked above all to a change in the international community's approach to the settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. The external factor has historically always been decisive in this region, and the current situation is no exception. But I hope that in the very near future ethnic problems will be seen as questions of democratic rights, and that other methods, different from today's political methods, will start to be used to solve them. That is my, perhaps overly optimistic, forecast.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In this context what is your stance on the question of the normalization of relations between Belgrade and Zagreb? It is thought that the crisis cannot be overcome without mutual consent between the Serbs and the Croats.

[Cosic] Back in August last year I proposed that the presidents of all the former Yugoslav republics normalize relations and, above all, resolve the refugee issue and solve problems relating to property and the establishment of economic and cultural ties, but back then I failed to get a single positive answer. Later, during the Geneva talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, we agreed on a possible normalization of relations between the two countries. Special commissions were even set up. Yet on 21 January Croatia attacked the Serbian Republic of Krajina. The war started again. Moreover, Zagreb has around 60,000 of its soldiers in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croatia is fighting against the Serbian people and pursuing a policy of ethnic cleansing and

discrimination against the Serbs on its territory. That is why it is hard to talk about the establishment of any kind of relations with Zagreb at the moment.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What, in your opinion, is the most typical feature of the Yugoslav domestic political scene today?

[Cosic] In the current transitional period from so-called self-governing socialism to a free and open society, complete confusion and chaos reign in the country's political life. This is fertile soil for the resurgence of many dangerous trends and phenomena—among which the ideology of civil war has again become topical. The ruling Socialist Party of Serbia has still not demonstrated enough strength and resolve to transform itself from Tito's former communist party into a modern democratic and socialist-oriented party in the European meaning of those words. At the same time, the opposition is also incapable of ridding itself of the heavy burden of conservative communist ideology and vulgar nationalism, which in certain cases escalates into extremism and chauvinism.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What is your assessment of Russia's role in settling the crisis in the former Yugoslavia?

[Cosic] For a long time Russian policy in the Balkans was passive, which affected not only Yugoslavia, but also the vitally important interests of Russia itself. Then came a time when Moscow, finding itself in a difficult situation, simply repeated the policy of a number of Western countries. It voted for sanctions, had nothing against strengthening them, and so forth, but today Russia is acting in the international arena as a great power and a great people, concerned about the fate of Europe, the peoples of the former Yugoslavia, and, finally, the Serbs and Montenegrins—its historic friends and allies. Russia is now pursuing an active policy in the Balkans, and I believe that it will be one of the main factors in settling the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] There is a view that official Belgrade had been waiting for the results of the Russian referendum, and it was only when a Yeltsin victory became obvious that it sharply changed its policy. Is that so?

[Cosic] That does not square with reality at all. The FRY has never based its policy on any domestic changes in Russia.

I personally, as a Serb and a Yugoslav citizen, and as a man and a writer who has studied the works of Dostoyevskiy and Tolstoy, sincerely want to see a Russian revival and Russia returning to the international community as a democratic and free state.

Kozyrev Comments on Possible Partition of Bosnia

MK2505110693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 19, 25 May 93 (Signed to Press 24 May) p 2

[Vladimir Abarinov commentary published under the "Diplomacy" rubric: "The Vance-Owen Plan Passes on, But Friendship Between Europe and America Triumphs"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A persistent rumor has been circulating in Washington's diplomatic circles that the Americans are headed toward the partitioning of Bosnia. A member of the Russian delegation did not rule out this possibility. At least, he said, the repeated remarks by U.S. experts to the effect that apart from the Vance-Owen plan, other political solutions might be possible, are hard to interpret otherwise. But the most interesting thing is that Andrey Kozyrev, whom I asked to comment on this version and from whom, frankly, I expected to hear at least a denial of these rumors, also reacted quite calmly to the idea of dividing Bosnia. Such a decision, he stated, is quite feasible in a historical perspective but with two qualifications: It could become real, first, in conditions of peace, and second, under conditions of democracy. This is really "something sensational," as the minister observed on another occasion when leaving the State Department after the first round of talks with Warren Christopher. In fact, this would mean turning the Bosnian Muslims into yet another people without a territory of its own with all the ensuing consequences under the Middle East scenario. "Safe havens," a draft resolution on which will be shortly presented to the Security Council, do not at all resolve the problem: Over time they will simply become refugee camps and therefore sources of terrorism, just like in the center of Europe.

Other things aside, the safe haven resolution for Russia means the sending of new military units to the conflict zone, this time not to Croatia but directly to Bosnia. Diplomats suppose that the government might in this case use the Supreme Soviet's decision of last year. However, Deputy Defense Minister Boris Gromov, who was part of the delegation, thinks somewhat differently: According to him, for a start, it is necessary to have a detailed plan for stationing the forces, and only then begin to talk about whom should be sent, where to, and in what numbers. The Americans, as is known, have only agreed to cover ground troops "in the event that they come under attack and formally ask for such actions to be taken." As a U.S. colleague observed, "we have a great conscience but why should our boys die on account of the Muslims?"

What then are the positive results of the Washington meeting? This was well formulated by a high-placed Russian diplomat: The Europeans have managed "to prevent the Americans from getting out of hand." As the minister noted on his way back to Moscow, the division between Europe and America was precluded a priori

since even a sign of a split was all that the radical forces in Serbia are dreaming about. The minister thus defined the main task of his mission: "To take urgent measures at least to stabilize the situation." Even if this has been achieved, only partially. Finally, the "Washington pact" does not contain even a hint of lifting the embargo on military deliveries to Bosnia—for the Americans this is indeed a fundamental concession. As for the phrase about tough measures, "none of which has been predetermined and excluded from the discussion," it is merely a "face saver" for the Americans.

Kozyrev Interview on Diplomatic Initiative in Balkans

MK2605102093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 22, 30 May 93 (Signed to Press 25 May) p A13

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Aleksey Pushkov, published in the "Crisis" column, in Moscow; date not given: "Where is the Way Out of the Labyrinth?"]

[Text] At the beginning of last week, as soon as it became clear that in their referendum the Bosnian Serbs had rejected the Vance-Owen plan, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev expeditiously flew on a Berlin-Split-Belgrade-Rome-Washington-New York diplomatic tour. The result of his six-day visit has been the adoption of an international joint action program to achieve a settlement in Yugoslavia. Immediately after his return to Moscow Andrey Kozyrev granted an interview to MN deputy chief editor Aleksey Pushkov.

[Pushkov] Andrey Vladimirovich, was your emergency departure—as far as I know, the decision about it was made literally on its eve—caused by the intention of Russian diplomacy to regain the initiative in the process of the settlement that had come to a deadlock, or was it prompted by some other considerations?

[Kozyrev] The fact is that a real danger emerged that the Vance-Owen plan could collapse, that the groundwork for a settlement in Yugoslavia that had been created as a result of tremendous efforts could be destroyed, and that the international coalition that was formed could disintegrate. That would have meant an absolute catastrophe for the former Yugoslavia. The aggressive nationalist forces operating there would have received the best possible argument in favor of war until a victorious end. And a colossal danger would have emerged for Europe.

Therefore we undertook extraordinary efforts. Their aim was to implement President Yeltsin's concept designed to extinguish the conflict in Yugoslavia (naturally with special stress being laid on Bosnia) by political means. Within the framework of this concept the Vance-Owen plan is regarded as an important element, but only one of the elements of a settlement that should extend to the entire Yugoslavia.

[Pushkov] What would be your comment on judgments expressed in some Western media outlets, for instance THE NEW YORK TIMES, that the Vance-Owen plan has been effectively discarded in favor of a new strategy that recognizes—at least for the time being—the Serbs' territorial acquisitions in Bosnia?

[Kozyrev] Unfortunately, both the Bosnian Serbs, who voted against it in the referendum, and world public opinion itself have a very insufficient knowledge of the Vance-Owen plan. Therefore, when we have put forward the idea of a progressive, step-by-step implementation of the plan, some people started telling us: So, you are proposing to freeze the seizures committed by the Serbs in Bosnia? Yet the plan envisions that the Serbs leave 30 percent of the territory they have seized. Does this mean recognition of the status quo?

The fact that the joint program does not contain rigid formulas with respect to the realization of the Vance-Owen plan does not mean that the plan is dead, as Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic is saying. We cannot agree with this. It is another matter that the plan is no dogma. Therefore the document adopted in Washington talks about the "Vance-Owen process."

[Pushkov] Why then has Bosnian President Izetbegovic, the leader of the Bosnian Muslims, who was positive toward the Vance- Owen plan, rejected the joint program, while the Serbian, Karadzic, who used to reject the plan, has spoken favorably about this program?

[Kozyrev] All this affords fresh evidence of how difficult it is to do business with this region. When several days ago we met in Split, Izetbegovic, no matter what he might be saying now, approved of our proposals. It is another matter that there are people in his entourage who are afraid to lose the momentum of approaches based on force. Apparently there is a group in the Muslim leadership that is betting not so much on the negotiations as, say, on outside military intervention. True, the intention to continue to rely on force was also evident among other parties to the conflict.

[Pushkov] The signs are that the Americans have decided if not to withdraw fully from active participation in the settlement, then at least to move aside, having come to the conclusion that the Yugoslav conflict is virtually insolvable. Thus they are yielding more room for initiative to Russia and Western Europe in this almost hopeless business. Is there not a trap for Russian diplomacy here?

[Kozyrev] There are two extremes involved here. One is the aspiration by the most belligerent groups to drag yet another party into this war on their side. Let us say, the Muslim extremists hope to entangle the United States, and the Croatian extremists hope to involve Germany. Meanwhile the patriots in Belgrade were pinning great hopes prior to the referendum on the victory of our national- patriots so as to involve Russia in the reckless adventure on their side.

There is also another extreme, when they say in the United States, as well as in Russia: Why are we involved with this Yugoslavia in the first place, when we have plenty of things to do at home? Both of them are false alternatives, extremely destructive for the growing international interaction. Therefore we are categorically against ourselves or the Americans getting out of this process.

The fact that at a certain stage a course of actions proposed by U.S. diplomacy has not succeeded does not yet mean that the United States should feel offended and adopt a corresponding pose. This has also happened to our initiatives. We have never advanced them on condition that either they will be accepted as a whole or we would totally pull out of the settlement process. Relations between Russia and the United States today are way above this sort of competition between diplomatic initiatives.

After the talks in Rome with the Western European Union's member states I reported to President Yeltsin on the results of the European round. A clear-cut conclusion was made: We are interested in two self-sufficient values—cooperation with the United States in the Vancouver spirit, as well as with our other partners; and a settlement in Yugoslavia. Importantly, there is no contradiction between them; on the contrary, one complements the other. And the fact that the document was adopted in Washington shows precisely that the United States remains one the leading participants in this process.

[Pushkov] Judging from recent remarks by U.S. Secretary of State Christopher, the Americans were initially lukewarm to the idea of a gradual implementation of the plan, and then, after your visit, apparently accepted it. Does this mean that your trip has imparted a fresh impetus to the spirit of Vancouver?

[Kozyrev] Such crises are a kind of testing of our partnership with the United States and with Europe. With Europe we enjoy independent relations. And after Rome one could have tried to make a European conspiracy, as it were—even in the interests of a settlement, adopt, let us say, a joint Russian-European declaration and act without having to look over the shoulder at Washington. We, however, believe that our special relations with or our proximity to Europe must on no account be opposed to its or our relations with the United States. And even if we have different approaches, neither are we interested in scoring cheap points against the Americans, nor are they with respect to us. Indeed, who else but, perhaps, the incorrigible bureaucracy would stand to gain from "tripping up" a trusted, even if formal, political partner? To be sure, a mere two to three years ago, even with the best possible relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, it was simply inconceivable to imagine that Moscow would have put forward an initiative seemingly disagreeing with Washington's proposals, and that the latter would have joined it. Therefore Vancouver has passed baptism by fire in all respects.

[Pushkov] What could you say regrading Karadzic's proposal, addressed to Gorbachev and Kissinger, that a new peaceful settlement plan be worked out?

[Kozyrev] It belongs in the category of "black humor," of which there is plenty in the vast expanses of Yugoslavia. This could have been funny were it not happening against the backdrop of a bloody tragedy.

[Pushkov] What do you think about Kissinger's opinion that in the end the world will have to recognize the reality that has taken shape in Yugoslavia, in other words, agree with the creation of a smaller Bosnia and the incorporation of the tracts on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina currently belonging to the Serbs and the Croats into Serbia and Croatia respectively?

[Kozyrev] With all due respect for Dr. Kissinger, whom I know very well personally, I think that if such ideas are geared toward direct action, this is a dangerous, reckless adventure. Both here, on the territory of the former USSR, and in Yugoslavia the advancement of such ideas is tantamount to declaring war by all against all, a revision of borders by bloody methods. They are especially dangerous today when the Belgrade leaders are apparently abandoning them, and when we too are strongly insisting that the Croatian leadership, also, should abandon them. For the first time the five powers are sternly warning Croatia and threatening sanctions unless it stops supporting combat operations of the Bosnian Croats aimed at seizing further tracts in Bosnia. If, however, Kissinger reasons as a political scientist speculating on the fate of the world in a historical perspective, then this is quite a different matter. Presumably, one could imagine in the future certain changes occurring in the configuration that has taken shape. But they should come about only in conditions of peace between the states that have now been formed and result from a democratic process. Herein lies the weakness of the Bosnian Serbs' referendum. I believe that we have a moral right not to recognize its results. After all, it took place in a military situation, and what democracy, what self-determination, can we possibly be talking about in conditions of war? Therefore I do not preclude the possibility of changes occurring some time in the distant future in the former Yugoslavia, or across the vast expanses of the former USSR, but I repeat: Only in the context of peace and respect for the territorial integrity of those formations that exist there now.

[Pushkov] Would it be right to say that as a result of your trip the ideas of resolving the Yugoslav crisis by armed intervention have been buried?

[Kozyrev] These ideas are not mentioned in the document. Yet everything depends on the subsequent development of events. If one of the conflicting sides moves in a direction opposite to the international efforts, then I would not rule out the possibility of tough measures.

START II Criticized as Serving U.S. National Interests

MK2505124093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 57, 25 May 93 (Signed to Press 24 May 93) p 7

[Oleg Cherkovets commentary: "It Serves the National Interests of... America"]

[Text] Is the recently signed treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons (START II) between Russia and the United States really "a historic success," as some people are inclined to call it? The reduction of the two sides' nuclear arsenals by two-thirds is the key numerical side to the treaty that really looks impressive. It is essential, however, to look more carefully at the qualitative side to the proposed cuts.

According to Iona Andronov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Committee, "all the land-based intercontinental missiles with multiple warheads" are to be banned under the treaty, but land-based ICBM's of this type account for 70 percent of our arsenal against slightly more than 20 percent in the United States, while 60 percent of U.S. multi-warhead missiles are submarine-based! It turns out that we are losing nearly all our arsenal of such missiles, and the opposite side only one-half.

This is where the euphoria over "the historic breakthrough to the future," "the salvation of mankind," and other similar epithets that some politicians and journalists are in advance giving this document, ends. It is time to call a spade a spade: We may as well not see this future at all. This idea is harshly phrased, but justifiably so: national security, the security of a state are harsh things in the first place and, like Voland's [a name of the Devil in Mikhail Bulgakov's novel "The Master and Margarita"] famous salmon, may only be of "first-degree freshness" or reliability. That is to say, they are either reliably protected or not protected at all. In world politics, like in economic relations, everyone has the right and duty to take care of the national interests of his country and his people. Naturally, not at the expense of other countries or peoples. But not vice versa, either. Relying only on your partner's word of honor without receiving guarantees for the future is a disastrous path for both a merchant and a politician.

The thing is that the dismantlement of the multi-warhead ICBM's by the Russian side is not simply "a large concession." Subject to reductions on our side are all the available heavy, silo-based SS-18 missiles with multiple warheads—from six to 10 on each of them. It is well known that it is these multi-warhead weapons—the pride of our strategic forces—that the United States and its allies feared and continue to fear now. And it is not pride or the terrifying name of the "Satan" that matter, all this is much more complex and important. Owing precisely to their multiple-strike capability, SS-18's cannot be recognized by the U.S. ABM system. In other words, they can achieve precisely what our nuclear weapons were created and upgraded for—the ineluctability of a counterstrike, which has for dozens of years deterred potential aggressors, and provide a guarantee to the rest of the world as to the impossibility of yet another "large-scale war."

The entry into force of START II deprives us of this guarantee. Let us recall the words of Deputy Iona Andronov. The approximately equal quantities of nuclear weapons left at the disposal of Russia and the United States are by no means equal in qualitative terms. The notorious SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative), should it be fully deployed by the United States (and U.S. assurances that it gave up the idea of creating it are clearly not enough here), will intercept all the multi-warhead missiles we are left with as soon as they approach America—however hard we may try to increase the number of submarine-based missiles. We, on the contrary, will be unable to match this with regard to U.S. missiles launched from sea-based or air-based missile-armed craft: Our counter-strike doctrine in the event of a possible aggression, as is well known, called for a different "tack." Under START II, we are voluntarily relinquishing this "tack." Furthermore, we do not get anything in exchange except "the word of honor." Isn't the risk too great?

... It has been reported in the press that George Bush, pointing to the successful signing of START II, said to his loyalists during the last days of his presidency that the implementation of this treaty would guarantee the future without fear for the United States. It seems this is really so. The treaty indeed serves the national interests of ... America.

Russian-U.S. Joint Enterprise To Develop Oilfields

LD2505212793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 25 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Only two months have elapsed since the meeting between Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton in Vancouver. They agreed on partnership and on giving words concrete content.

But an event took place today in Moscow which, although not impressive at first glance, is very important to many foreign companies that are deciding to invest in Russian industry or to wait a little until there is some political stability in Russia. The Russo-American joint enterprise Polyarnoye Siyaniye in Arkhangelsk Oblast has received backing from OPIC—the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation; in other words, official insurance of the state against all eventualities.

Those who assembled for the signing of the document think that it is the start of the massive investment in the power engineering sector of the Russian economy that was announced by Bill Clinton in Vancouver. OPIC has

been operating in that field since the start of the implementation of the Marshall Plan in Europe. Today it was announced by a representative of the OPIC president that the corporation made the decision the other day to finance the creation of free-market economic structures in countries where central planning had been supreme—mainly in Russia for the time being.

The Polyarnoye Siyaniye joint enterprise plans to develop four oilfields in the Timan-Pechora basin. Drilling work beyond the Arctic Circle will begin in the second half of 1993.

16 U.S. Pilots Missing in North Korea Transferred To USSR

LD2605085193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0821 GMT 26 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—A group searching for missing US servicemen "has determined the destiny of 16 people who we are interested in", TASS was told on Wednesday by head of the group General Bernard Lefke.

The 16 were US pilots taken prisoner in North Korea and transferred to the USSR, according to the general, who gave no other details.

Lefke who is participating in an international conference in Moscow on "humanisation of military activity and reform in the armed forces" said his group, which makes part of the joint Russian-US commission probing the fate of missing POWs during and after World War Two, maintains close contacts with the head of the Russian group, General Dmitriy Volkogonov and has been granted access to Soviet archives.

Although many Americans missing in Russia during WW2, in Korean and Vietnam wars have not been found yet, "hope for success remains", Lefke said.

'Extremely Hostile Confrontation' Seen Between U.S., Iran

NC2605085593 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1330 GMT 25 May 93

[Sergey Viktorov commentary]

[Text] The emergence of views on the nature of and outlook for reestablishing relations between Tehran and Washington urges me to study the issue. Both sides are expressing their views.

President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani has expressed his views and for the first time since he came to power has given an interview to America's TIME magazine. According to the Iranian leader, if the United States wants to improve its relations with Iran, it should release Iran's assets. Hashemi-Rafsanjani believes that Washington has not fulfilled promises it made when it asked for help to release the Western hostages in Lebanon. The hostages were released, but U.S. policy on Iran became harsher. The Iranian president thinks that this is why Iran can only wait and see how Washington will behave.

The second statement on this was made by Martin Indyk, President Clinton's special assistant on Near East and South Asia affairs. This statement allows no room for doubt on the U.S. Administration's intentions on Iran. According to Indyk, the United States foresees no improvement in its relations with Iran. So, Washington intends to continue its policy of isolating Tehran through economic and military sanctions.

The United States' accusations against Iran are obvious. The U.S. President's special assistant listed support for international terrorism, efforts to halt the Middle East peace talks, and obstructionism in pro-U.S. Arab countries, primarily in Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia. Theories on arms purchases to strengthen Iran's military supremacy in the Persian Gulf and on efforts to purchase nuclear arms and ballistic missiles were likewise not forgotten.

We know the list of Washington's complaints against Tehran is very long, although you cannot say all the accusations have been proven. According to Indyk, all these form the necessary basis for believing that Iran persistently pursues a hostile policy against the United States in particular and against the West in general. Apparently one cannot speak now about positive developments in Iranian-U.S. relations and both countries maintain their old stances of extremely hostile confrontation.

Russo-American Business Conference Under Way

LD2505083793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0649 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Sochi May 25 TASS—In the run up to the elections, Russian entrepreneurs have set the task to form a political lobby, which, when in power, will defend the freedom of trade and private property, said Konstantin Zatulin, organizer of the Russo-American conference underway in Sochi under the motto "Elections: A Challenge and Alternative".

Zatulin, a prominent representative of business circles, has united his fellow-thinkers into the association "Entrepreneurs for New Russia", which put forward the slogan "Capitalism first, then constitution."

Nevertheless, Zatulin's supporters intend to take part in the constitutional conference scheduled for June 5. Zatulin believes that the conference should focus not on the text of the constitution, but on the preparation of intermediate constitutional laws for the transitional period, and on the law on elections. Zatulin believes that the subsequent adoption of the law by the parliament will enable "to form a stable tradition of elections as a

mechanism for the settlement of political problems and enable a new deputies' corps to come into power."

As an organizer of the present Russia-American conference, Zatulin noted that the conference "had gathered genuine centrists—people who have rejected radicalism and revolutionary methods of transformations", including prominent politologists and experts from both sides of the ocean. Zatulin believes that the participation of American political experts in the conference is a factor "promoting mutual enrichment of the two democracies, and especially the young Russian democracy."

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Current Issues

Discusses Yugoslav Plan

LD2505142093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1249 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Smelyakov and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 25 May—The joint plan of action agreed in Washington by the "Yugoslavia Five" is a package of specific measures not intended to supplant the Vance-Owen plan but, on the contrary, to form a basis for its implementation, the director of the Russian Foreign Ministry Information and Press Department, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, announced during a briefing today on the Washington talks.

Moscow appreciates the constructive line taken by the United States, he continued, without whose input it would have been difficult to draw up this program. The leading players in the Yugoslavia peace process displayed in Washington the unity required for further joint measures to be drawn up and put into effect. "The agreements reached by the five foreign ministers make possible the continued existence of a potential peace settlement for the Bosnia conflict and keep it within the confines of politics without having to resort to force. At the same time, new tougher moves cannot be ruled out against anyone trying to wreck efforts to establish peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina," the Russian diplomat said. He voiced hope that all the conflicting sides would be willing to cooperate on the basis of the adopted document, which gives none of them any advantage and does not enshrine any de facto seizures of territory.

Sergey Yastrzhembskiy noted the three most substantial elements of the joint action plan adopted in Washington: realism, multilateralism, meaning that all interested states will play their part under UN auspices, and an immediate start to practical moves. These are the goals of the program, he said: to bring about a settlement to the Bosnia crisis by political methods, not force.

The Russian diplomat pointed out that on the eve of the Washington plan's adoption, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev had expressed surprise at the latest reaction to it from Bosnia-Herzegovina leader Alija Izetbegovic. He had initially supported a phased extinguishing of the Bosnia conflagration by political methods and said he was interested in beginning the practical implementation of the Vance-Owen plan; but then he changed his mind, apparently under pressure from "radicals" among his entourage, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy said. We believe, he stressed by way of conclusion, that the door remains open and we invite Mr. Izetbegovic to take a constructive view of the Washington plan and return to supporting it.

Expresses Hope for Guatemala Dialogue

LD2505131293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1536 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Russia expressed hope that a peaceful dialogue in Guatemala will continue and cautiously blamed the rebels for a deadlock at the talks.

"We share the opinion of those circles in Central America and of the world public who tend to put the blame for a deadlock at the negotiations on the settlement in Guatemala mostly on rebels who bypass earlier agreed positions", Foreign Ministry Spokesman Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing on Tuesday.

"We hope that the feeling of responsibility for the future of the country will prevail over individual and group ambitions, the peaceful dialogue will get a new impetus and conditions opening a way for final agreements on a peaceful settlement will be created", he said.

Notes Anniversary of Kazakh Treaty

LD2505144593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1219 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Smelyakov and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Russia and Kazakhstan, the anniversary of which we are marking today, has determined a qualitatively new character of relations between the two states as genuinely sovereign and equal partners," Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Directorate, told a briefing here today.

"The period that has elapsed since then," he continued, "allows us to say that the treaty's principles, ideas and propositions were not a mere declaration. They were further developed in scores of subsequent bilateral agreements in various areas of cooperation."

Yastrzhembskiy said that not all the treaty articles were implemented during this short period of time. Further efforts are needed to implement it in the military, humanitarian and some other areas.

"Russia," Yastrzhembskiy stressed, "regards the May 25 treaty as a long-term political and legal foundation for strengthening friendship and cooperation with Kazakhstan and intends to observe its principles fully and unswervingly, expecting Kazakhstan to act likewise."

Yeltsin, Tajikistan's Rakhmonov Comment on Treaty

LD2505131093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1224 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Naryshkin, Yuriy Sizov, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 25 May—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Imamali Rakhmonov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, signed a treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between the two countries in the Kremlin today. They also signed a package of seven documents dealing with cooperation between Russia and Tajikistan in the sphere of the economy, the protection of state borders, and science and technology.

Speaking after the ceremony to sign the interstate documents, President Boris Yeltsin noted that it was the first time that Russia and Tajikistan had concluded a treaty as two sovereign independent states. "We stand for preserving and multiplying the potential for cooperation with Tajikistan, which has been building up for centuries," Boris Yeltsin pointed out. "Russia will continue to assist peacekeeping efforts on the part of the leadership of the Republic of Tajikistan and will provide aid for the population of the republic." One of the forms of this aid, the Russian leader added, was the protection of Tajikistan's state border, which is also a state border of CIS countries.

In his turn Imamali Rakhmonov, head of Tajikistan's parliament, emphasized that the documents signed today "will undoubtedly take Russian-Tajik relations to a qualitatively new level." They meet the basic interests of the two countries' peoples and the interests of security on the Eurasian continent. The Tajik leader noted that the treaty reflected a fundamentally new level in interstate relations in mutual trust and understanding.

Tajik Leader Interviewed

LD2505135493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] The ceremony of signing the Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan is due to take place in the Kremlin in less than an hour's time. Over to our correspondent, Anton Grishin:

[Grishin] Yesterday, immediately after his arrival in Moscow, Imamali Rakhmonov gave a short interview to our correspondent in which he defined the purpose of his working visit to the Russian capital in the following terms:

[Begin Rakhmonov recording] We have come to Moscow to sign a Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the two states. The delegation and peoples of Tajikistan expect this meeting to be truly historic. This is because a bilateral treaty and agreements are being signed for the first time. In general Tajikistan cannot conceive of the Commonwealth, the CIS, without Russia. [end recording]

[Grishin] The friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Treaty between Russia and Tajikistan is expected to be concluded for a five-year period, with the option of an automatic extension. The draft treaty, approved by the Russian president, says that Russia and Tajikistan will develop their relations as friendly states, cooperating in order to strengthen peace and increase stability and security. The treaty will promote the settlement of regional conflicts and other situations that affect the interests of the sides. Cooperation is expected in the sphere of defense and implementation of a joint defense policy. So the possibility of sending additional peacekeeping forces to Tajikistan is not ruled out.

Later on today, a package of eight fundamental economic documents will be examined in the Kremlin. In accordance with the draft treaty, both sides will coordinate work on the implementation of economic reform and the formation of a common economic space.

Leaders Answer Questions

LD2505151193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1409 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Naryshkin, Yuriy Sizov, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 25 May—The conclusion of the treaty between Russia and Tajikistan as new and independent states has been held up because of the civil war in that Republic, President Boris Yeltsin said in response to journalists' questions after the signing of bilateral Russian-Tajikistan documents in the Kremlin.

Boris Yeltsin noted that "the reserves for our cooperation are very great." For instance, Russia will supply Tajikistan with hydraulic pumps for canals which will irrigate 100,000 hectares of new land. At the same time, Russian enterprises will be able to obtain cotton from Tajikistan. At the moment textile mills are at a standstill because of a shortage of raw materials.

Referring to the problem of guarding the southern borders, Boris Yeltsin advocated that other CIS states besides Russia and Tajikistan make a contribution to solving this problem. "The main thing we are now striving for," Boris Yeltsin stressed, "is for peace to come at long last to Tajikistan."

"The presence of Russia's 201st Motorized Rifle Division in Tajikistan is a guarantee of peace and security in the Republic," Imamali Rakhmonov said. "If it were not for the 201st Division, the victims of the civil war would

number about 1 million people rather than tens of thousands." He also stressed that "if it were not for the assistance provided by Russia and Uzbekistan, the Tajiks as a nation and Tajikistan as a state would no longer exist."

Referring to economic cooperation with Russia, he noted that broad prospects exist for its development.

Other Documents Signed

LD2505171993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1618 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Naryshkin, Yuriy Sizov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Tajik Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmonov signed a treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance in Kremlin today, as well as a package of documents on Russian-Tajik interaction in the economy, protection of the state border, science and technology.

Russia and Tajikistan have for the first time concluded a treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance as sovereign independent states, Russian President Boris Yeltsin told the document signing ceremony.

The Russian leadership perfectly understands current Tajik problems. Together with other countries of the region, Russia will continue to render comprehensive support to peace-making efforts of the Tajik heads and fraternal aid to the Tajik population.

"I think Russian decision on its peace-making contingent corresponds to the interests of the Tajik people," added Yeltsin.

The Russian president focused on the protection of Tajik southern borders, which are at the same time borders of the Commonwealth of Independent States. "The reliability of borders will enable the prevention of arms and drugs contraband to the Commonwealth and help stabilize general situation in the region," he said.

Speaking of the fate of ethnic Russians living in Tajikistan, Boris Yeltsin said Russia is doing its best to ensure their safety, protect legitimate rights and render assistance to those wishing to leave the republic. At the same time, many ethnic Russians consider Tajikistan to be their second motherland. Stabilization of the Tajik situation and corresponding measures of the Tajik leadership to ensure their worthy rights will help to reduce the ethnic- Russians' outflow from the republic.

The president noted with satisfaction Rakhmonov had told him the process had been turned backward.

He admitted Russia is not satisfied with the implementation of decisions on Tajikistan taken by Commonwealth states in Minsk. "I am sure the treaty can be a good basis for Russian-Tajik interaction within the CIS framework and on the international scene," said the president.

In his turn, the Tajik Supreme Soviet chairman noted the documents "bring the Tajik-Russian relations on a qualitatively new level". In his opinion, the treaty will help to consolidate peace and security in the Euro-Asian region. Speaking of the document's major ideas, the official noted recognition of strict observation of the two states' sovereignty.

The treaty opens up broad possibilities of national spiritual revival of the peoples and fulfilment of their striving for freedom and independence. Efforts of the Tajik leadership now focus on stabilization of the situation and provision of civil peace in the republic.

"The treaty is another guarantee of reliable protection of rights and freedoms of Tajik citizens, including ethnic Russians," said Imamali Rakhmanov, adding the Tajik population enjoys constant help and support of Russia.

Tajik Defence Minister Major-General Aleksandr Shishlyannikov told ITAR-TASS today's Tajik-Russian agreement on status of the Russian border troops stationed on Tajik territory "was necessary for both sides".

The document establishes the troops' status "to give Russia a free hand and put on the legal basis the solution to all aspects of Russian military aid to Tajikistan", said the minister. Besides, the agreement ensures reliable political and social guarantees to Russian military serving in the republic.

The general expressed hope the bilateral agreement will boost the introduction into the republic of peace-making units from other states-participants in the Treaty on Collective Security in correspondence to the Minsk CIS Summit.

The Russian Government has issued an instruction to render assistance to the Tajik population, which suffered from natural calamities. A total of two billion roubles will be donated for this aim and credits for purchase in Russia of food and material and technical resources will be allocated.

Leaders Hail Treaty Signing

LD2505201293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 25 May 93

[By correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando, including recording of comments after treaty signing ceremony by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmonov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russia and Tajikistan today signed a treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid. Cooperation in a joint defense policy is also envisaged. Up to now neighboring Uzbekistan has rendered the main military assistance to the present Tajik authorities.

[Shkirando] This treaty was signed by Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, and Imamali Rakhmonov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan. A package of seven documents concerning interaction between Russia and Tajikistan in the sphere of the economy, protection of the state border, science and technology was also signed.

Speaking after the ceremony of the signing of interstate documents, President Boris Yeltsin noted that, for the first time, Russia and Tajikistan have concluded a treaty as two sovereign and independent states. We, the Russian president continued, are in favor of preserving and increasing the potential of cooperation with Tajikistan which has been built up over centuries. Russia will continue to assist in the peacemaking efforts of the Tajik leadership and render aid to the population of that republic.

[Yeltsin, speaking from notes] I would like to lay special emphasis on the question of protecting the southern borders of Tajikistan which are at the same time the borders of the Commonwealth of Independent States. A reliable border will enable the channel of supplies to the CIS countries of arms, narcotics, and contraband to be closed, and will lead to a general stabilization of the situation in the region. I am convinced that this is in the interests of Tajikistan, Russia, and all the countries of the Commonwealth.

[Shkirando] For his part, Imamali Rakhmonov, the head of the Tajik parliament, stressed that the documents signed today will raise Russian-Tajik relations to a qualitatively new level. They meet the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries and security on the Euro-Asian continent.

At an impromptu news conference given by the leaders of the two countries, the Tajik leader said:

[Rakhmonov] If there had been no Russia and no Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, if there had been no Uzbekistan and no Islam Abduganiyevich [Karimov, president of Uzbekistan], the nation of the Tajiks and the state of Tajikistan as they are at the present time would not have existed. [Video shows Yeltsin and Rakhmonov signing documents watched by a gathering of officials, including Shokhin, Grachev, Filatov, making speeches, and talking to journalists.]

Yeltsin, Armenia's Ter-Petrosyan Discuss Ties

LD2505160993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1428 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 25—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and President Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia met in Moscow today to discuss bilateral Russian-Armenian relations and exchange views of the settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The press office of the Russian president told ITAR-TASS that the two heads of state spoke in favour of the prompt fulfilment by all parties concerned of Resolution 822 of the United Nations Security Council of April 30. Consistent efforts of Russia and other participants in the peace-making process were praised, and both sides expressed determination to work towards a prompt end to bloodshed and look for a solution to contentious issues by peaceful means.

The two leaders also discussed the possible reduction in the Russian troops deployed in Armenia.

Russian-Kazakh Interparliamentary Commission Meeting Ends

LD2505181493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1732 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—The main task of the Kazakh-Russian Interparliamentary Cooperation Commission is assistance to the implementation of Kazakh-Russian treaties and agreements, as well as the creation of favourable economic and legal conditions for the development of integration processes and consolidation of economic relations between the two states, commission Kazakh co-Chairman Sauk Takezhanov told a news conference here today.

The commission meeting, which ended today, discussed the improvement of a system of mutual payments, the state debt, assistance to the development of economic relations between the two states and their enterprises, changes and rapprochement of Russian and Kazakh legislation, commission Russian co-Chairman Vladimir Ispravnikov said.

The sides agreed to elaborate a draft concept of Russian-Kazakh economic and other relations to boost the development of bilateral cooperation. Ispravnikov told correspondents a plenary meeting of the commission will be held in September-October, 1993, and an extraordinary meeting of the commission is scheduled for the first half of June to settle the Baykonaur issue.

Ispravnikov noted the interparliamentary commission, within the framework of competence of the two parliaments, will coordinate the implementation of bilateral agreements and remove obstacles on their way.

It is planned to create permanent working groups to boost commission activities and prepare specific documents.

The Russian co-chairman of the commission expressed satisfaction with the commission's laying down of corner stones to settle strategic aspects of bilateral economic relations.

Kasatonov Persuades Estonians on Paldiski Base Withdrawal

PM2605093593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 93 p 1

[Report by Captain 2d Class Valeriy Gromak: "Center Ready for Withdrawal"]

[Text] Last week a law was adopted in Estonia on elections of local authorities whereby noncitizens were disfranchized. On 19 May, there was a noisy demonstration in Tallinn accompanied by the slogans "Disfranchisement for Noncitizens" and "Occupiers Out."

This is the kind of atmosphere in which the withdrawal of Russian forces from Estonia is taking place. Admiral Igor Kasatonov, first deputy commander in chief of the Russian Navy, visiting the Tallinn naval base, gave assurances that the withdrawal of naval forces was going according to plan. Over a period of 16 months, 50 transports have left the Tallinn naval base carrying naval property and armaments. The Russian Federation naval seamen have no complaints about support either. This is all due to Tallinn Naval Base Commander Vice Admiral Yuriy Belov's absolutely correct policy in his relationship with the Estonian government.

This was confirmed by Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar at a meeting with the first deputy commander in chief of the Navy.

The conversation concentrated on the Russian Navy's training center in Paldiski. Admiral Kasatonov, who had heard a report the day before from Rear Admiral Aleksandr Olkhovikov, warned the Estonian prime minister that the training center has to be withdrawn with "particular care" in order to guarantee radiation safety. Apparently, the Estonian side now recognizes this.

The Estonian prime minister confirmed the willingness of Denmark, Sweden, and the United States to help Estonia construct housing for Russian servicemen and offered to construct housing primarily for commissioned and warrant officers from Paldiski.

Latest Round of Talks With Latvia 'Successful'

PM2505145193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Irina Litvinova report: "Where Latvia and Russia Reached Agreement"]

[Text] The leaders of the two delegations—Ambassador at Large Sergey Zotov and State Minister Janis Dinevics—noted at the final press conference in Jurmala that the current round of interstate talks has proved successful.

The sides signed three agreements: The two states will create joint enterprises on the basis of Russian military plants; during the troop withdrawal period servicemen and their families will be able to cross the border without visas; and regulations have been laid down governing the military's use of the mail, electronic communications, and radio frequencies. Both delegation heads believe that another five documents pertaining to the troop withdrawal may be signed in late May or at the very beginning of June (when the last meeting before Latvia's Seimas elections apparently takes place in Moscow). Zotov pointed out that seven agreements on nonmilitary issues are also ready for signing. In particular, it has proved possible to close the gap between the positions with regard to Russia's handing over to Latvia hydrographic equipment that would enable the republic to assume responsibility for the safety of shipping in its waters (hitherto this was carried out and funded by Russia).

Now a word about contentious issues. When asked by journalists "Is Russia unwilling or unable to withdraw the troops before 1994?" Janis Dinevics refused to comment on the Russian stance. He did, however, stress once again that Latvia is itself entitled to decide which of the foreign state's installations it is willing to tolerate on its territory. It is a question of three strategic installations—the early-warning radar in Skrunde, the port of Liepaja, and the space tracking installation in Ventspils. According to the state minister, Latvia does not need these installations, but Russia's tough stance as regards keeping them is preventing a compromise from being reached on a withdrawal date.

Sergey Zotov said that it is necessary to continue working on a general agreement for the complete withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia. But, this does not preclude the signing of a separate agreement governing the interim presence in the republic of the three installations of strategic importance to Russia's security—on contract terms, in return for an appropriate fee. Zotov pointed out that a new radar is already under construction, but it will take around 10 years to build (the ambassador recalled that there is a military specialist in the Latvian delegation who himself took part in building the radar in Skrunde and can confirm what a complex installation it is).

Nor did the sides reach agreement on the problem of social security for Russian servicemen during the withdrawal or for the military pensioners who have stayed here to live: The main stumbling block is the question of apartments. As you know, Latvia has "taken possession." People are unable to buy or swap their housing. According to Janis Dinevics, consultations will continue on the apartment problem, but it will evidently be a new Latvian delegation—the one that emerges after the Seimas elections—that will have the final say. This will most likely be in late summer or early fall.

Agreement Reached on Troop Withdrawal From Lithuania

MK2505121693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 25 May 93 p 10

[Sergey Tsekhmistrenko report published in "Russia's Policy in the Baltic States" column: "Moscow Moves to Increasingly Tougher Line"]

[Text] Russian diplomacy, which has played an active role in settling the Balkan crisis, is gradually moving over to energetic actions along other directions, including relations with the Baltic states. This has been corroborated by the results of talks with Lithuania and Latvia that ended last week, as well as the visit to Estonia by Anatoliy Adamishin, first deputy foreign minister and the Russian president's special envoy at the negotiations with the Baltic countries, which began yesterday.

The main aim of Adamishin's visit to Tallinn is to lay down the groundwork for a meeting between prime ministers Viktor Chernomyrdin and Mart Laar, which was to have taken place at the beginning of this year but was repeatedly postponed owing to a number of outstanding problems relating to the withdrawal of Russian troops and the situation of Estonia's Russian-speaking population.

At the latest round of talks that took place in mid-May, however, the Russian side forced the Estonian side to begin discussion of a treaty on resolving questions of citizenship.

Shortly after that, on 20 May, the Estonian parliament granted the republic's permanent residents without citizenship (that is to say, the majority of the Russian-speaking population) a passive voting right in the upcoming elections to local self-government bodies due in September. There are signs that Russia and Estonia could soon reach a compromise on the question of the troop pullout.

Whereas the time frame for the Russian-Estonian meeting at foreign minister level has still to be coordinated, however, the meeting of the Russian and Lithuanian presidents will take place in the very near future. Late in the evening on 21 May, a telephone conversation took place between Boris Yeltsin and Algirdas Brazauskas in the course of which, as KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent has learned, the last obstacles to concluding a comprehensive treaty on the troop withdrawal were removed.

The Lithuanian president is to arrive in Moscow to sign the treaty—this is due to happen on 5 June. Meanwhile it was agreed at the talks in Vilnius between the delegations and the defense ministers of the two countries that the last Russian military units would leave the republic before 1 September 1993.

Although Russia's relations with Lithuania are better than with the other Baltic countries, they are not ideal. Yesterday Lithuanian Ambassador to Moscow Romualdas Kozyrovicius was summoned to Smolenskaya Square [Russian Foreign Ministry headquarters] and presented with a note of protest couched in fairly sharp terms over the "unlawful actions by the Lithuanian law enforcement agencies on the territory of Russia." The reference is to an operation involving the detention in Moscow of a Lithuanian citizen, which was carried out by Lithuanian police without coordination with the Russian authorities (see KOMMERSANT-DAILY of 17 and 20 April).

Russia could make similar claims to Latvia whose police, as KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent has learned, have also been operating quite freely in Moscow.

The problems of Russian-Latvian relations, however, are far from confined to this. The results of another round of bilateral talks that ended last week (which KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported on 19 and 22 April) show that the Latvian side, in the run-up to elections to the Sejmas, scheduled for 5 June, has opted in favor of confrontation. This tactic, however, can hardly lead to the desired results since Moscow, as recent events have demonstrated, has begun to pursue an increasingly tougher line in its relations with the Baltic capitals.

Kozyrev Favors Partnership With African Nations

LD2505144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1246 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"Africa is no longer an arena of rivalry between blocs, no longer a target of the expansion of messianic ideology. In our multipolar world, the African countries are beginning to be masters of their own fates in the full sense of the word, are getting a chance to play a more important role in world affairs," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told a meeting of heads of African diplomatic missions in Moscow on the occasion of Africa Liberation Day. This year the holiday coincides with another important event in the continent's life—the 30th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

"The African nations," Kozyrev stressed, "are, in fact, today living through a new liberation epoch. Together with the rest of the world, they are getting rid of the consequences of confrontation, which had a baneful effect on the fate of many states of the continent. Today, the road has been opened for them to do away with the last seats of conflicts and to resolve problems in a way that would best suit their own aspirations and traditions, would not be foisted upon them from the outside in accordance with these or other ideological prescriptions."

Kozyrev welcomed the efforts of the African countries that are following the road of democratic renovation. "We support their efforts to ensure civil liberties and human rights," the minister stressed. "This is part and parcel of the world democratic process and it cogs in with the Russian reforms," he added.

The minister cited a passage from the message, addressed by the Russian president to the heads of African states, governments and peoples on the occasion of Liberation Day, and saying that Russia is striving to

expand constructive interaction with the OAU, to keep up and deepen the bilateral dialogue with the states of Africa.

In conclusion, the minister noted that the market reforms in Russia were radically altering the character and mechanisms of its cooperation with the outside world, including the African states. He said that the main role in commercial and economic relations was now being played by private business structures and called for the active encouragement of such Russian structures in Africa and vice-versa. He went on record for the provision of corresponding legal and political guarantees.

ANC's Mbeki Sees No Obstacles To Cooperation With Russia

MB2405123993 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans 1700 GMT 22 May 93

[Excerpts of an address by African National Congress Secretary for Foreign Affairs Thabo Mbeki at a press conference in Moscow; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The African National Congress, ANC, secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, arrived in Moscow on the 20 May. On Friday, 21 May, he was received at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After talks with the Russian First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mbeki addressed a press conference for Russian and foreign journalists. You can now listen to excerpts from the press conference:

In his introductory discussion on the purpose of his visit to Russia, Mr. Mbeki said that it was his chief aim to inform the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on developments in South Africa. Mr. Mbeki noted that UN observers would possibly be needed for the forthcoming nonracial elections in South Africa. Since Russia is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, it could use its position to offer constructive assistance to South Africa, in assuring the smooth running of the elections process in the country. Concerning other developments in South Africa, Mr. Mbeki remarked that he views the future with optimism, and he expressed the hope that constructive forces operating in communities would keep the reform process within the framework of democracy.

The following question was also posed to the ANC's Secretary for Foreign Affairs: For many years there were strong ties between the ANC and the USSR. Recently, there has been a slight pause in the development of ties between Russia and the ANC. This ended with the current visit by the ANC delegation. To what extent does the ANC plan to restore its former cooperation, with Russia?

Thabo Mbeki agreed and said: It is fair to describe the past few years as a pause in relations. However, I do not think that someone has created that pause deliberately. The last time we visited Moscow was in 1989, and since then a lot has changed in our country and yours. However, it is evident that there are no obstacles today, on either side, to the development of relations between the two countries.

Concerning the ANC's preparedness for further cooperation with Russia, the South African guest remarked that he does not foresee any obstacles in this regard, in both present and future cooperation between Russia and a democratic South Africa.

Russian-French Space Crew Prepare for Session Aboard 'Mir'

LD2505165193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1558 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—A Russo-French space crew is scheduled to work on board the "Mir" orbital complex for about twenty days, specialists, working with two international crews, told reporters on Tuesday. The news conference, held in the Yuriy Gagarin Cosmonauts Training Centre outside Moscow, was not attended by the Russian and French spacemen who are now preparing for the flight, because their training programme is quite intense.

The specilists answered questions concerning the working programme of the 14th expedition on board the orbital complex, where Gennadiy Manakov and Aleksandr Polishchuk are now working. From July 1, 1993, the Russo-French crew is to carry on the set of experiments and research projects started by their colleagues. Work in open space is also on the flight programme.

As for the international programme, it will focus, the same as during the previous Russo-French flights, on medical and biological research, as well as on technological experiments.

At the moment, two international crews are preparing for the blast-off. The first consists of Vasiliy Tsibliev, Aleksandr Serebrov and French cosmonaut Jean-Pierre Haignere. The second is made up of Viktor Afanasyev, Yuriy Usachev and French woman Claudie Dehaye.

Ex-Premier Gaydar Arrives in Japan for Visit

LD2205122493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1122 GMT 22 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo May 22 TASS—Former head of the Russian Government Yegor Gaydar arrived in Japan for a visit today. The visit will last till May 29. He was invited to visit the country by the Japanese foreign minister and a group of parliamentary deputies from the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

During the visit Yegor Gaydar will have meetings with a number of influential statesmen and politicians of Japan, representatives of the government and leadership of the ruling party. On Monday Yegor Gaydar is to meet Japanese Foreign Minister Kabun Muto and Chairman of the LDP Political Council Hiroshi Mitsuzaka. On Tuesday the former head of the Russian Government will address a group of leaders of the ruling party at its headquarters in Tokyo. At the week-end Yegor Gaydar is expected to have a meeting with Japanese Finance Minister Yoshiro Hayashi and prominent businessmen of Japan.

Comments on Kuril Issue

LD2505164493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1549 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo May 25 TASS—The territorial dispute between Japan and Russia over the Kuril Islands will be settled only when at least 50 per cent of Russians, including 50 per cent of the population of the Russian far east, demand a solution to the problem, according to Yegor Gaydar who until recently was the acting head of the Russian Government and is now the head of the Institute of Economic Problems of the transitional period and the Russian president's economic policy adviser.

Gaydar was delivering a lecture at the headquarters of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, whose members in the parliament together with the Japanese Foreign Ministry had invited him to Japan.

New Cooling by Japan on Bilateral Ties Noted

PM2605082593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Sergey Agafonov report: "Tokyo Awaits 'Positive Approach' From Moscow on Territorial Problem"]

[Text] Tokyo—By all accounts Russian-Japanese relations are entering the next phase of "cooling," the duration of which is too hard to predict at the moment. It has been learned from reliable sources in Tokyo that, in the Russian sphere, Japanese diplomacy has decided to do without a "summer" following a brief "spring"—high-level contacts with Moscow are being shelved for the time being, and the territorial problem is again rising to the top of the pile.

After the series of March and April statements about support for Russian transformations and readiness to contribute its share to the cause of economic aid to Russia, for the sake of which a partial abandonment of the traditional principle of linking politics and economics was even declared and the intention not to include territorial wrangling on the agenda of the upcoming G-7 summit meeting in Tokyo was announced, Japanese diplomacy has been making a sharp turn in recent days. According to available information, partly confirmed by the local mass media, the Japanese Government has decided not to resume the dialogue with Moscow on the question of concluding a peace treaty (and this is the linchpin of bilateral contacts) until the Russian side makes new "positive" proposals on the territorial aspect. Furthermore, on various pretexts Tokyo has already repeatedly made a recommendation addressed directly to the Russian president—if he comes to the July G-7 meeting in Japan, he must be prepared for the fact that the territorial question will be raised in talks with the Japanese side, and in a fairly tough manner.

The press center of the highly influential NIHON KEIZAI newspaper reports that Prime Minister Miyazawa personally sanctioned the change of approach to the Russian topic and even issued a directive to the Japanese Foreign Ministry to refrain from sending official delegations to Moscow. Bearing in mind that the next such mission was due to be the trip by Japanese diplomats for talks to fix a new date for Yeltsin's twice-postponed visit to Japan, the premier's recommendations cannot be called symbolic. NIHON KEIZAI illustrates this information with a rather eloquent quotation from anonymous official sources in the Japanese Foreign Ministry: "If Yeltsin brings new constructive ideas and proposals on territorial matters with him in July, we will consider them. However, if he brings nothing with him or refuses to meet separately with Miyazawa, we will simply freeze bilateral relations."

NATO Defense Ministers' Meeting in Brussels Viewed

LD2505202293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 25 May 93

[Announcer-read Vladislav Kozyakov report]

[Text] NATO defense ministers are discussing the situation in ex-Yugoslavia and the role of their alliance in the new international situation at their spring time session in Brussels, Belgium. Vladislav Kozyakov has these details:

The first item on the agenda is the new peace plan for Bosnia worked out last weekend by Russia, the United States, Britain, France and Spain. What can be NATO's part in the implementation of the plan which many analysts have described as promising for stopping the bloodshed in ex-Yugoslavia?

Judging by the first reports from Brussels, NATO favors support for the plan if the UN Security Council passes an appropriate resolution. Already on the basis of the Security Council Resolution 816, NATO aircraft are patrolling the air space of Bosnia-Herzegovina. When Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance were working on their plan, NATO expressed readiness to send up to 78,000 men to carry it out, now the question is that individual NATO members can take part in the planned patrolling of

borders, the formation of safe havens and other unilateral steps. This was disclosed by a NATO spokesman at a briefing for journalists.

As for the atmosphere at the current session in Brussels, it's marked by the fresh agreement between Russia, the U.S. and Western Europe on a common approach to the developments in ex-Yugoslavia. Even several days ago, the press was dominated by reports about differences on a number of matters. The choice was between air attacks on Serbian positions, on which the U.S. insisted, and the emphasis on diplomacy, which Russia and the European Community wanted.

The fact that a joint peace plan was worked out during the talks in Washington and European capitals points to a growing cooperation and partnership. As the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said, this was a manifestation of the spirit of Vancouver, where the recent Russian-American summit was held.

It must be said that in the wider sense, relations between NATO and Russia and the other newly independent states are now marked by mutual understanding and partnership. The activities of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council is an indication of this. It unites NATO, East European countries, Russia and other former Soviet republics.

But so far we can speak only of the very beginning of the question for a new identity for NATO. The alliance was set up to neutralize the threat from the East which no longer exists. A Western journalist has called the current efforts to find a new role for the alliance as hard work [sentence as heard]. The current session of the council is a manifestation of this work. Some think that part of the NATO countries are reducing their military spending too fast, even though the new threats to Europe are incomparable to those that existed before.

Gradually trust and partnership will have to make their own progress.

Anatoliy Potapov on NATO's Current Military Strategy

LD2505153493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 25 May 93

[Commentary by Anatoliy Potapov]

[Text] The defense ministers of the NATO countries are holding a two-day meeting in Brussels. Now views of the NATO military strategy at present from our commentator Anatoliy Potapov and this is what he writes.

It is perfectly clear that NATO is striving now to actively pursue its new strategic doctrine. To maintain its existence after the Cold War, the 16-nation alliance has had to realign itself to totally new goals, and so the following arguments are now being advanced in NATO vigorously—creating a permanent United Nations force along the lines of a rapid deployment one is hardly feasible today, but NATO has a unique potential of ready military structures to carry out new tasks now that they are [as heard] interethnic conflicts, therefore it would be wrong not to use NATO in the present critical situations. The NATO leaders are persuading the heads of the European countries about it. Understandably the defense ministers gathered in Brussels, chiefly within the Military Planning Committee, and they are discussing possible action by NATO in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A NATO plan for military intervention is practically ready. The alliance can introduce between 50,000 to 80,000 troops there. It was even expected that the headquarters of the NATO Rapid Deployment Force can be moved from Germany to Bosnia. However, the program of joint action in Bosnia just adopted by the United States, Russia, France, Britain, and Spain in Washington compels NATO to review its guidelines. Anyway, the Military Planning Committee will apparently confine itself to simply discussing the situation. In new conditions the committee cannot take any concrete decisions, naturally.

As before, France is not taking part in the meeting of the defense ministers in Brussels, but there have been some notable facts recently—some time ago, the French Defense Minister, Francois Leotard, spoke out for reconsidering the role of NATO and relations of France with the alliance in the new geostrategic conditions. This indicates a great deal of things. I may add that the participation of Paris in the NATO Military Committee, with the right to vote, was concealed thoroughly from the media for a long time. It is true, though, that so far only peace-keeping problems were involved. They say in France that Paris has no intention of rejoining the NATO military structures, but it is clear that the French stand is being gradually reviewed to some extent. In general it follows from a recent statement by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, that the new strategic doctrine of the alliance is aimed at ensuring the security of all European countries. I may remind you that, in the opinion of Moscow, NATO can play a role only as one of the elements of ensuring European stability and no more than that. It should operate only by strictly complying with the mandate of the countries in the Helsinki process or of the United Nations.

Gulf Force Destroyer Returns to Pacific Fleet Station

PM2505151593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 93 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Shirokov: "Destroyer Admiral Tributs Returns From Persian Gulf"]

[Text] The Pacific Ocean Fleet destroyer Admiral Tributs had been in the Persian Gulf area for five months, showing Russia's support for the UN Security Council sanctions against Iraq.

The ship performed all its tasks successfully. The actions of the Russian ship's crew were rated highly by the U.S.,

British, and French seamen with whom the Pacific Ocean Fleet seamen were operating.

Russian Unity Bloc Charges G-7 With Anti-Russian Policy

MK2505134293 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 19, 25 May 93 (Signed to Press 24 May) p 2

[Aleksey Kirpichnikov report: "Russian Unity Puts G-7 in Its Place"]

[Text] The Russian Unity bloc has come out with a statement addressed to the G-7's diplomatic missions in Moscow asserting that the policy pursued by these states with respect to Russia contributes to a growth of unemployment, production decline, disintegration of the state, and violation of human rights. The authors of the statement believe that the conduct by officials in the G-7 countries similar to that of Yeltsin and company may result in their resignation or impeachment.

The statement also makes a reference to sociology—in the form of doubt over the ethics of supporting a course that was voted for by barely one-third of the electorate.

The bloc has asked to make its position known to the top leaders of these countries. A reply is still being awaited. It is possible that this issue might become a focus at the upcoming G-7 meeting in Tokyo.

Shokhin on Problems in Negotiations With EEC

LD2405153693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1445 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—The problems that have arisen during the process of coordinating the draft agreement on partnership and cooperation between Russia and the EEC raise doubts on whether the document can be signed next month, Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin declared today.

Addressing a news conference, he said that if the differences between the sides cannot be overcome before Boris Yeltsin's visit to Denmark, scheduled for 19-21 June, Russia would propose that the agreement should be signed later. It is known that in order to find a way out of the situation, the EEC leadership has suggested that only those points which both sides agree upon should be signed in the course of the visit; the remaining ones to be signed over several years.

According to Aleksandr Shokhin, the Russian side disagrees with certain provisions discriminatory toward the Russian Federation concerning trade with EEC countries and, in particular, the holding of unilateral anti-dumping investigations, as well as the special rather than the general rules affecting Russian nuclear output. Apart from this, the vice premier noted, the agreement on offer presupposes an imbalance as far as the conditions governing the activities of European banks and companies in Russia and of Russian firms within the EEC countries are concerned. In particular, opportunities for Russian firms specializing in space launches have been circumscribed in the Community countries.

Aleksandr Shokhin noted that he has certain hopes for the fifth round of talks with the EEC, due to commence on 9 June. At the same time, he said that if the problems fail to be resolved, it would make sense to postpone the signing of an agreement with the EEC until autumn this year.

Comments on Russia-EC Treaty Problems

PM2605111593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksey Portanskiy report: "B. Yeltsin Is Ready Personally To Promote Preparation of Partnership Treaty Between EC and Russia"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin is ready to assume the functions of "negotiator" with the EC heads of state and government at the time of the European Council session in Copenhagen on 21 June in order to overcome the deadlock in preparing the treaty of partnership and cooperation between Russia and the EC.

This intention of the Russian president was confirmed during a meeting with journalists Monday by Aleksandr Shokhin, vice premier of the Russian Federation Government, and Georgiy Gabuniya, Russian Federation deputy minister of foreign economic relations.

Aimed at ensuring Russia's phased incorporation into the world economy, the future treaty must ensure freedom of movement for goods, capital, services, and manpower, thereby making it possible to make substantial advances with our reforms. The Russian side believes, however, that the rough version of the treaty not only does not yet accord with the set aims, but in certain respects is even worse for us than the analogous 1989 agreement between the EC and the USSR, which is still in effect.

Russia is not asking the EC for any privileges or concessions, it is merely demanding to be treated like any other country—like the United States, for example. Particularly as Russia's request to join GATT will soon be considered. But Moscow is even prepared to enshrine the GATT principles in the future partnership treaty. On the pretext of our nonmembership of GATT, however, the EC's Brussels officials are inclined to regard almost all trade with Russia as a special case. In order to consolidate a formal basis for such an approach, they propose to regard Russia as a country with a state-regulated economy—something to which we resolutely object: The treaty is designed for the long term.

Such a position promises us new discriminatory measures in the future, including antidumping procedures. It is proposed to remove a number of Russian export commodities from the general arrangements and to

create special arrangements for them. It is a question, for example, of nuclear fuel cycle materials.

In the Russia's opinion, whereas we are prepared to provide quite advantageous arrangements for the activities of European banks and companies on our territory, the West retains many restrictions in respect to Russian firms, particularly in the market for space services and transportation services.

"I believe," Aleksandr Shokhin said in reply to IZVESTIYA's question, "that the situation in Europe really does influence our partners in many ways. Of course, the economic slump together with the imagined prospect of finding itself faced with an influx of relatively inexpensive products from Russia prompts the West to curb the expansion of Russian exports."

In a telephone conversation with the Russian president a week ago, the Danish prime minister proposed signing those points of the treaty on which agreement has been reached and then returning to the problem a few years later and resolving disputed issues. Boris Yeltsin turned down such a scheme. Moscow proceeds from the circumstance that the treaty must definitely be designed for the long term and include appropriate transitional mechanisms.

At present, to all appearances, there is not much real chance of signing the treaty in Copenhagen. The signing will most likely be deferred until the fall.

Shokhin Denies Taking Money Belonging to Center in Berlin

PM2605110193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 May 93 First Edition p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "Aleksandr Shokhin: My Former Fellow Fighter Mikhail Poltoranin Is Pretending I Put This Money In My Pocket"]

[Text] Russian Federation Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin voiced regret in connection with the "political din" raised over the fate of the Russian House of Science and Culture in Berlin. Speaking at a press conference yesterday he stated: "It is a pity that my former fellow fighter Mikhail Poltoranin is conducting the debate at an ideological level which, obviously, does me no credit either, since I allowed it."

Aleksandr Shokhin pointed to the Federal Information Center leader's incorrect interpretation of an article in the magazine DER SPIEGEL. According to this article, the vice premier said, a businessman who had rented space at the Russian House of Science and Culture invested in his own store and did not pay the 5 million marks rent for the premises. "Yet Mikhail Nikiforovich concludes that Shokhin put this money in his pocket," the deputy premier said.

Aleksandr Shokhin stressed that last month the president decided not to take any action to transfer the Russian House of Science and Culture to anyone until the legal consequences of such steps are determined. Boris Yeltsin himself will decide the house's final fate. In the vice premier's opinion, to settle the conflict it is essential to issue a president's edict which "would deprive Mikhail Poltoranin of the power to rent out the Russian House of Science and Culture and would take the house from the Federal Information Center and reinforce the status quo of April last year. The house belongs to the association of international cooperation as the legal heir to the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries."

The vice premier stressed that, under the intergovernment agreement on the Russian House of Science and Culture, its commercial use is not envisaged and therefore "overoptimistic pictures" are being drawn of the use of the profit from its operation. He said that the thrust of the problem is that the good intentions of earning hard currency in the FRG have resulted in the Federal Information Center being caught in the snare that was set by the German real estate dealers.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Chairs Council of Heads of Republics Session

LD2605081993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0745 GMT 26 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 26 May (ITAR-TASS)—A session of the council of heads of republics within the Russian Federation has begun in Moscow's President Hotel. President Boris Yeltsin is chairing the session. It is expected that the mechanism for implementing the Federation Treaty and constitutional reforms will be discussed today.

In his opening statement Boris Yeltsin stressed that "the adoption of a new constitution will put an end to the endless attempts to revise both the principle of federalism and the Federation Treaty itself." A new Russian constitution, according to the president, "will be the main legal guarantee for a single multinational Russia."

Wins Leaders' Support

LD2605104993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1031 GMT 26 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin won support of heads of Russian republics who called on Wednesday [26 May] to convene a Constitutional Conference which will work on the final draft of the presidential version of a new Russian constitution.

"Thus the Council of Heads of Republics supported the very idea of convening a Constitutional Conference and welcomed that it will be held in Moscow", presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov told reporters after a three-hour long meeting.

Heads of republics agreed in principle that either they themselves or their representatives will attend the Constitutional Conference and "will proceed from the notion that the presidential draft of the constitution is taken as the basis", he added.

Kostikov characterised the meeting as "a serious victory of the president. He won support to his draft from the republics of the Russian Federation", he said.

Delivers Speech 26 May

LD2605111393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0933 GMT 26 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin called on heads of Russian republics to support his draft constitution as it provides more powers for Russian regions.

The meeting on Wednesday [26 May] was also attended by leaders of regional and interregional associations of Russia and the president said their role in the country is increasing.

"I do not doubt that it is important for us to know their opinion on the issue which we are discussing today - the mechanism of implementing the Federative Treaty and the constitutional reform", Yeltsin said.

"Over half a year has passed since the Federative Treaty was signed. But it is no secret that many of its provisions are not working. The main reason, I believe, is that the Federative Treaty remained an alien body in acting constitution. The constitution in its essence remains the constitution of a unitary state. This paralyses [as received] the efficiency of the Federative Treaty.

"That is why I believe that the constitutional reform and the improvement of mechanisms of implementing the Federative Treaty is a single process.

"The Federative Treaty is to become an organic part of a new Russian Constitution and should not contradict its other provisions and norms.

"Moreover, the former (parliamentary) draft of the constitution in its essence contradicted many provisions of the Federative Treaty, its contents. Such was the opinion of the Council of Heads of the Republics. Much has been taken into consideration when a new draft was designed. Surely, not everything has been done, but I believe it can serve as the basis for future and joint work.

"The draft constitution provides for:

"First. Fixed and limited volume of powers of the federal authority. This allows to radically increase the powers of the subjects of the federation according to peculiarities of each of them.

"Second. Relations outside the limits of the Federative Treaty are regulated by bilateral agreements between the federal authorities and subjects of the federation. An increase in powers of that or another subject of the federation would mean a decrease in obligations of the federal authority towards them.

"Third. It is envisaged to increase the role of the subjects of the federation in working out the federal policy. The new parliament gets the Council of the Federation - the Upper Chamber.

"It will approve changes in the constitutional and legal status of subjects of the federation and changes in borders between them. The Council of the Federation will appoint judges of the three courts of the Russian

Federation and the Supreme Justice Assembly, the Prosecutor General of Russia. It will solve issues of foreign and defence policies.

"Thus the federal policy will be worked out to a great extent on the basis of coordinating interests between plenipotentiary representatives of the subjects of the federation. Such constitutional guarantees make any policy imposed from the centre out of question.

"Fourth. The draft of a new constitution provides for the president bigger possibilities to act as a mediator in settling complicated relations within the federation. Surely, only the court will be the supreme arbiter in conflict situations. The task of the president will consist mostly in averting political and legal conflicts.

"Fifth. The new constitutional norms will pave the way to the development of economic mechanisms of self-regulation of relations among the subjects of the federation and the federal authority, as well as within the interregional associations.

"I believe their role is to increase. You know my stand on the issue - complete and unconditional support to industrial and economic activities of these associations.

"The necessity of the constitutional reform is recognised by all constructive political forces in Russia. It was supported by representatives of subjects of the federation at regional conferences of heads of republics, territories, regions and autonomous regions. A total of 83 subjects of the federation participated.

"The leadership of the Supreme Soviet is changing its attitude to the new constitution. It has been displaying an intention to cooperate of late. I think it is not by chance that statements of participants in regional conferences were signed by leaders of many soviets.

"I know that different opinions are voiced on the issue of a new constitution in republics. As for today 700 remarks were received. But we can overcome the existing differences together, as they say, at a common working table.

"We are ready for joint implementation of the constitutional reform, we are open for cooperation. It is inadmissible to preserve the current dual power which aggravates the crisis in management, undermines guarantees of human rights and freedoms, blocks the development of federative relations.

"Perhaps, we all understand that the longer the constitutional crisis lasts the better is the situation for unitarists of all types and for their consolidation.

"The adoption of a new constitution will put an end to endless attempts to revise both the principle if federalism and the federative treaty itself. Simultaneously, it will become the major legal guaranty of the integrity of multinational Russia.

"Practically each region advances a lot of remarks and proposals to the draft constitution. Most actively the question of guarantees of equality of subjects of the federation is discussed. I believe we have to be realists in such delicate issue and act with great responsibility and caution. If we act recklessly we shall inflict irrepairable damage on Russia. Such is the opinion of most regional heads in Russia.

"Respecting the national feelings of the population of republics their current status should be preserved. At the same time in such issues as taxation, financial, economic activities it is necessary to bring republics as close as possible to territories and regions in Russia. The necessity to ensure equal civil rights to the population of all subjects of the federation is absolutely clear.

"It is also important that a gradual creation of new relations in the federation becomes the principle of agreed policy.

"To complete the work on the text of a single draft constitution by June 5, 1993 a Constitutional Conference is convened in Moscow. It will be attended by representatives of - federal bodies of state power and management,

- bodies of power and management of subjects of the federation,

- public movements, political parties, trade unions and religious associations,

- manufacturers and entrepreneurs,

- bodies of local self-government.

Such a conference is the most flexible and legitimate means of our interaction. It allows to switch on and make functioning the mechanism of coordinating interests between the subjects of the federation and between them and the federal bodies of power and management.

"In essence, the Constitutional Conference is a mechanism of fulfilling the Federative Treaty. The text of a draft constitution which will be agreed at the conference can be with good reason called a public treaty, a pact of civic and interethnic accord.

The Constitutional Conference is also to determine the rules for adopting a new constitution of Russia, surely, taking into consideration the results of the April referendum and the very fact of initialling the draft constitution by all or a majority of subjects of the federation. The latter (provision) envisages that representatives of subjects of the federation delegated to the conference are to be vested with all the necessary authority.

"To conclude I shall say the following. The improvement of mechanisms of implementing the Federative Treaty will not take place in one moment. This is a process which will have its stages.

"The first stage is nearing completion. On May 18 I signed a resolution according to which the Council of Ministers interacting with all levels of executive authority is to work out and adopt a complex of measures on social and economic development of certain regions of the Russian Federation. Up to June 1 I am expecting proposals which need a special decision of the president.

"We have accumulated a certain experience in the work of the governmental commission on designing mechanisms of implementing the Federative Treaty and sharing powers between federal bodies of authority and bodies of power of territories, regions, cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. I believe it necessary to make the work of the commission more active.

"The second stage is a key one. It is connected with designing and adopting a new constitution as the major condition for implementing the Federative Treaty.

"The third stage - development of provisions of the Federative Treaty in federal legislation. I instruct the government to work out the necessary lawbills and submit them for consideration of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. I also hope the group of experts at the Council of Heads of Republics will work actively. The more so we already have certain proposals. You have received them.

"The fourth and the last stage is further development of legislation in republics. At this stage bilateral agreements of the subjects of the federation with the federal authorities and in between themselves will be formed.

"In conclusion I would like to express hope that the work and the results of the Constitutional Conference will show goodwill of the parties for accord, peace and civic compromise.

"I count on active participation of heads of republics, leaders of interregional associations, all subjects of the Russian Federation in this state business which is very important for all of us."

Opposition To Hold Own Constitutional Conference 3 Jun

LD2605110093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 26 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Committee for the Defense of the Constitution intends to convene an alternative constitutional conference on 3 June in the parliamentary center, Gennadiy Sayenko, one of the leaders of the Russian Unity parliamentary bloc, has stated. The co-chairman of the National Salvation Front, Ilya Konstantinov, has supported his colleague's initiative. The Russian Communist Party, having found out about the intention of the Committee for the Defense of the Constitution, has also withdrawn its request to participate in the president's constitutional conference.

The presidential administration evaluates such actions by the parliamentary opposition unambiguously as the continuation of the course aimed at splitting society and disrupting the constitutional process.

Decree on Constitution Congress Participants Issued

LD2605052993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] The number of applications for the participation in the constitutional conference on 5 June received from regional self-government structures, and religious, business, public, and sociopolitical associations has far exceeded the allocated quotas. Our correspondent has learned about this from Igor Kharichev, assistant of the president's head of administration. According to him, out of 70 places allocated to public associations, 65 have already been filled. The trade union quota has also been nearly filled. In accordance with a presidential decree no more applications were accepted on Tuesday from public organizations. As for subjects of the federation, their candidates will still be accepted.

Lobov's Dismissal Called 'Foregone Conclusion'

MK2505131093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 19, 25 May 93 (signed to press 24) p 1

[Mikhail Leontyev article published under the "Lobotomy" rubric: "Operation To Remove Lobov Grows Urgent. Country's Establishment Recovers Immunity to Sharp Moves in Economy, Politics"]

[Text] Oleg Lobov's removal from the post of vice premier can now well be regarded as a foregone conclusion. Over the brief spell of his second coming, Oleg Ivanovich has emerged—not without assistance from the liberal press—as a fairly unsavory figure: Today his speeches in government are accompanied by an awkward silence from the audience. Nonetheless, reports are circulating (with references being made to the president) that Lobov will stay on as economy minister. Although our democratic rulers' hard-heartedness with respect to the economy has long been known, obstacles may arise in the way of Lobov's being used in his present capacity.

It is well known that in the conditions of a market economy the functions of the State Planning Agency [Gosplan] are dying away, regardless of the will or conscience of the Lobovs or the high-minded rhetoric of the reports they present to his Imperial Majesty. Deprived of the far-reaching prospects "On According Legislative Functions to Gosplan," contemplated by him, Lobov will have to turn to the in-house side of the ministry's activity, where serious dangers are lurking. He will hardly have a chance to run the economy, but the ministry has retained some very interesting functions in

distributing various benefits, quotas, and licenses. Having found himself surrounded by deputies he has himself chosen—who, to put it mildly, do not prevent Oleg Ivanovich from making certain mistakes—he will be forcibly exposed to an unreasonable temptation. Therefore the authorities exposing him to this temptation could commit an action objectionable from the viewpoint of Christian morality.

This is why another scenario for transferring Lobov appears to be more harmonious: It is the idea of appointing him as secretary of the Security Council. An opportunity thus arises to kill two birds with one stone—appoint to the position of economy minister a low-profile but loyal man, for instance, Sergey Krasavchenko, who needs rescuing from the sinking parliament, and virtually neutralize the activity of the Security Council, a dangerous and unpredictable structure—since, as is known, lobotomy inevitably leads to the suppression of the organism's volitional and intellectual functions.

An example of how a lobotomy could be performed without direct contact with Lobov (although, possibly, under his latent influence) could be the sensational statement by the parliament speaker, who entrusted parliament to work out, within a week, a law on halving tax rates and stopping the circulation of foreign currency in the country. It might appear that the effects of the operation have manifested themselves in that the speaker has neglected to demand that budgetary expenditures subject to parliamentary approval also be halved.

Even so, Ruslan Imranovich's actions might have had quite a sound rationale—an attempt to prove the advantages of the representative form of government over presidential rule. A sudden turning off of volitional and intellectual functions may happen to one person—for example, the parliament speaker or (God forbid) the president. The probability of a simultaneous collective instance of this, however, is considerably smaller.

It needs to be said that parliament has not let down its chairman and justified his expectations. Even Venianim Skokov, speaker of the Soviet of the Republic, noted that "the chairman of the Supreme Soviet is not as yet a general secretary [of the Communist Party] who issues orders." A commendable sobriety of views and caution with respect to homogeneous figures and their marginal conduct that are seemingly manifesting themselves within the various branches of government gives hope that the Russian establishment is regaining its immunity to "sharp movements" in the economy and politics, which it lost over the years of perestroyka. Such an immunity does not guarantee the effectiveness of reform, but it ensures against the catastrophic consequences of the activity of illiterate enthusiasts.

Volkogonov: Put Constitution to Referendum

PM2605105393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 May 93 p 1

[Dmitriy Volkogonov article: "People Must Decide Fate of Constitution"]

[Text] One thing alone is obvious to us—namely that a normal society cannot survive without a constitution or with one that is more reminiscent of a patchwork quilt, since it contains almost 350 amendments. One of the main tasks is to create a normal society in which reforms will proceed in a stable manner, and a constitution is one of the conditions for such a society.

A situation fairly symptomatic of crisis has now arisen, whereby we have two drafts, one prepared by the Supreme Soviet Constitutional Commission, the other by the president.

In this situation I think it would be most advisable to find an opportunity to synthesize the two drafts. Take the president's draft as a base and add to it some of the most interesting and essential provisions of the draft proposed by the Constitutional Commission, which is, incidentally, chaired by the president. That would enable the president's draft to be reinforced. And clashes, clashes of any kind, must be avoided on this issue. I am in favor of sitting down and discussing all the provisions in detail, and it is best to do this at an independent forum. The president is moving in the right direction in suggesting that a Constitutional Assembly be convened.

The president's edict "On the Convocation of a Constitutional Assembly" does not contain a single point saying that a constitution will be adopted at this Constitutional Assembly. It is merely a question of examining the drafts, making amendments, expressing wishes, clarifying certain provisions, enlisting experts in this, and thus finalizing the draft. Never mind the fact that the idea of convening a constitutional assembly is very democratic since very extensive representation is proposed for state and public organizations, the courts, trade unions, representatives of state organs, members of the Constitutional Commission, the president's representatives, and representatives from the republics and autonomous oblasts.

However, there is also the danger that since varying people will be taking part in the Constitutional Assembly, virtually everyone will start to uphold their own view and then disagreements are inevitable. This notwithstanding, I think that a Constitutional Assembly would perform two tasks when formulating proposals: First, it would prepare the foundations for a constitution and, second, it would make recommendations as to **how to adopt it**—and **how to adopt a constitution** is the most painful issue.

It is clear to me that the Congress, for instance, cannot in itself adopt a Constitution. It could only adopt it if all components of the Federation initial it, give assurances,

and sign to say that they agree with this constitution; that is, it would not discuss and make amendments to it, but merely legalize and enact it. However, I am not convinced that if the Congress were to meet, it would not start punctiliously making countless amendments.

Although this is hard to say, and the people will hardly approve this immediately, I see only one option as being the most feasible means of adopting a constitution—a referendum.

That is, the Constitution should be published and an announcement made that within three months everyone should study it and then voice an opinion: **Do you or do you not agree with this Constitution?**

That would be the will of the whole people! And although people are tired of referendums, in this case no one could hurl accusations that this was the president's edict or a constitution adopted in secret. Regrettably, neither the Supreme Soviet nor the Congress can do anything since they have been transformed into antireform, often destructive bodies.

As for a realistic, legitimate, and correct approach, it would be best to adopt a constitution by means of a referendum. Prepare a draft, let all federations [as published] initial it and possibly in the fall or late summer once all Russians citizens are back from their vacations hold a referendum as to whether this should be the constitution or not. The matter would be decided straightaway and no one could complain apart from God, and God always supports what the people decide.

In conclusion I would like to say that some people are now trying to attack the previous referendum, but a referendum is a supreme form of democracy. And this is an opportunity for everyone to take part in their future, rather than watching and witnessing what is being decided and by whom, and express their own will for themselves.

I hope that at the dawn of the new century, when we will all be rich—that is something I believe—every television set will have a gadget with a red and green button. And before any decision is made the head of government will ask the people the following question when proposing any project: If you agree, press the green button, if not press the red button. And a gigantic panel will light up showing what the people voted for. This may seem fantasy now, but things that seemed fantastic a few years ago now have already become part of our lives—computerization and automation. This will come about, but for the time being... let us have a referendum.

A Constitutional Assembly is absolutely essential and it is preferable that it should meet without rallies and protests and that it should be attended by representatives of Democratic Russia, the Constitutional Democrats, the Republican Party, the Communists, and the president's representatives—everyone who states their willingness to take part. Let them all reach general consensus and synthesize the two versions of the constitution. But... take the president's draft as a base. It is more concise, concrete, intelligible, democratic, and professional and, in addition, considers not only Russia's specific conditions and traditions, but also world experience.

Parties on Terms for Attending Constitutional Conference

PM2605095993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Constitutional Conference: For and Against"]

[Text] The president of Russia has issued an edict convening a constitutional conference on 5 June. Its aim is to complete the preparation of the Russian Federation draft constitution. Representatives of political parties will figure among its participants.

Valentin Kuptsov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee:

"We are prepared to participate if it is a conference of experts. However, if the organizers intend to set it up as a constituent assembly, we are not going to fall into that trap. The final decision on participation in the constitutional conference will be made at the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee plenum on 29 May."

Vyacheslav Smirnov, secretary of the Democratic Party of Russia Board:

"The final wording of the edict, which essentially imposes discussion of the president's draft of the constitution, did surprise us.

"The fact that representatives of local self-government, who are manifestly pro-president, will be taking part in it in addition to political parties and federal organs of state power also caused us consternation!

"The outcome is not clear either: The agreed draft is to be referred to the president. What will he do with it? Why him?

"Yes, we will be going to the conference, and if it is a conference-cum-seminar rather than a legislative organ we will take part in its work. If, however, an attempt is made to turn the constitutional conference into a constituent assembly and to adopt the president's draft constitution at it, we will be against. Enough of Russians' arms being twisted!"

Expert Says New Constitution Essential for Elections

LD2605093393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0847 GMT 26 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Sochi, Krasnodar Territory May 26 TASS—The law on elections can hardly be adopted without a new constitution, said Doctor of History Vyacheslav Nikonov, adviser of the international foundation "Reform". He addressed the Russo-American conference "Elections: Challenge and Alternative" now underway in Sochi.

Nikonov told ITAR-TASS that first of all it is necessary to decide what kind of republic Russia should be: A presidential or a parliamentary republic. Assertions about the strengthening of the influence of the executive authority are unfounded since in Russia a Congress of People's Deputies has a right to amend the constitution, that is to set the rules of the game for all state institutions, which can usually be done only by a dictator, Nikonov said. The subdivision into the congress and the Supreme Soviet makes deputies unequal, which is impermissible in a democratic society, Nikonov said. He believes the institute of the congress should be eliminated.

Nikonov believes the procedure of presidential elections should be registered in the constitution and set out in detail in a separate law. The procedure of parliamentary elections should be registered in the legislation of subjects of the federation.

As regards presidential elections, the law should give relative guarantees that voters will prefer moderate candidates to extremists. In addition, the election system should ensure for the president the necessary number of votes at the early stage of elections. It is also necessary to stimulate the formation of parties in Russia that would seek support of the entire population, that would look for compromises within themselves and not in inter- party struggle.

Nikonov believes the law on parliamentary elections should ensure fair representation of all regions and national minorities. He also believes that the law on elections should not require the 50 per cent voter turnout in order to regard the elections as valid. Nikonov favours a majority election system under which every constituency elects the candidate who scored the biggest number of votes.

Constitutional Conference Seen as Another Congress

MK2505102093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 93 p 1

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov commentary published under the "President" rubric: "Constitutional Conference: Many Are Called, Few Chosen"]

[Text] Lists have been drawn up of political organizations, trade unions, artistic unions, and religious groups that are entitled to take part in the work of the public chamber of the constitutional conference. The signs are that its formation has been based on a purely formal principle—whether a particular movement or organization has been registered by the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice. The list includes 15 out of the 20 religious confessions that have Russia-wide status (the Russian Orthodox Church, the Muslims, the Baptists, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Catholics, the Pentecostalists, the Old Believers, the Buddhists, the Judaists, the Lutherans, the Molokans, and so forth).

Russian political parties and movements are represented by 34 organizations. It should be noted that the list does not include the Russian National Assembly and the International Democratic Reforms Movement. On the other hand, it includes the Conservative Party (the "Lev Ubozhko party") and the Liberal Democratic party (the "Vladimir Zhirinovskiy party"). According to their political orientations, the political parties and movements represented in the list could be conditionally broken down into 16 "democratic," 11 "opposition," and four "centrist" organizations. Youth political organizations are represented by six "centrist" and two "democratic" movements.

The list of trade union organizations (overall 50), predictably, is dominated by collective members of the largest trade union association—the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia whose leadership advocates centrist positions (23 organizations).

The Congress of Russian Trade Unions and the Sotsprof, loyal to the president, are represented by seven and six organizations respectively. The positions of another seven trade unions on in the list could be conditionally termed as "pro-presidential." These include the Independent Miners Trade Union, the Air Pilots Association, the Federation of Air Traffic Controllers Trade Union, and others.

Finally, the list of Russia-wide artistic unions (overall 10 organizations) is dominated by Boris Yeltsin's supporters: the Russian Filmmakers Union, the Russian Journalists Union, the Russian Theater Union, and so forth.

Thus, a preliminary analysis of the political positions of the 117 political, trade union, and artistic organizations invited to the constitutional conference indicates that the majority of them will adhere to a "pro-presidential" line. At the same time the predominance of democrats over the united forces of opposition and centrist organizations is not so great as to make their victory a foregone conclusion. This fact, as well as the presence at the constitutional conference of partisan "charismatic leaders" (like Ubozhko, Zhirinovskiy, and Anpilov) will hardly impart any constructive character to the work of the public chamber. It is more likely that what will be happening there will become merely a parody of the Congress of People's Deputies. The list of commodity producers and entrepreneurs invited to take part in the constitutional conference is not ready yet. As NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent has learned, Ivan

Kavelidi, vice president of the League of Russian Cooperative Members and Entrepreneurs, has been entrusted with compiling it.

National Salvation Front Resolutions Highlighted

MK2505135693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 19, 25 May 93 (signed to press 24 May) p 2

[Aleksey Kirpichnikov report: "NSF Denounces President, Government, and Also Germans and Nuclear Terrorists"]

[Text] POSTFACTUM news agency has reported that the National Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] has issued a whole series of new documents. Naturally, most of the documents produced by the national saviors are aimed against the president and the government. The appeal to the soviets of deputies, banks, and businesses has a familiar-sounding name—"On Land." The appeal is structured along conventional lines: the introduction denounces the anti-people regime for the provocation in the form of the unrestricted sale of land; as the plot unfolds, those deceived—the Russian and other peoples of the country—and the deceivers—trade and financial capital—are named. The denouement, preceded by the reference to thousand-year old traditions, culminates in the threat of a showdown.

The composition of the resolution "On National Self-Determination of Volga River Germans" is more complex and looks like a syllogism. A reference to the results of local referendums in Saratov Oblast—against the autonomy of Volga River Germans—serves as a thesis. Used as an antithesis is a reference to the stance taken by the president, who broke his own pledge and made the region potentially explosive. Finally, as a synthesis, the national saviors suggest that the Germans achieve self-determination in the areas in which are densely populated at present.

The resolution "On the Threat of Nuclear Terrorism at Russian Nuclear Electric Power Stations" stands somewhat apart. For some reason it fails to attack the executive branch and even points to some of its successes in averting accidents—control by the State Security Ministry, rising professionalism and competence, and so forth. The resolution, however, asserts that the Chernobyl catastrophe was a link in the thought-out chain of policies aimed at breaking up the USSR and was caused deliberately. The authors are not embarrassed by the fact that the contamination affected "all those Swedes and what-d'you-call-them" [reference to the "Poem of the Soviet Passport" by Mayakovskiy]. In order to prevent sabotage from the air and "by hand," it was suggested that all the operating nuclear power stations be guarded by air defense units and missile troops.

New Coalition of Centrist Forces Urged

PM2605100193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Voldemar Koreshkov commentary under the "Events of the Day: Facts, Evaluations, Commentaries" general heading: "The Force of Reason and Accord"]

[Text] Russia is at a crossroads, faced with a choice over its future. Having experienced over 70 years of rule by an orthodox Communist apparatus, the country greeted the start of democratic renewal with hope.

But the CPSU, which continued to govern, failed to find within itself either the requirements or the strength for a radical, internal overhaul and scorned the processes that were actually going on. As a result, it suffered a historic defeat.

The team which succeeded it on the back of democratic slogans—the current "party of power"—has, through its anti-people actions, placed Russia on the verge of economic, social, national, and spiritual collapse, and universal impoverishment.

Not a single promise made before the presidential elections has been honored. Furthermore, the situation continues to deteriorate. A threat to democracy, to parliamentarianism has been created. Demands for the establishment of strong one-man power and resolute actions can be heard ever more insistently in presidential circles. An intensified interweaving of the interests and actions of ultraright-wing and ultraleft-wing extremists is at hand.

Whichever way you slice the results of the April all-Russian referendum, they demonstrate that confidence in the president and the policy being conducted by him has fallen significantly.

The bloody events of 1 May at Kaluzhskaya Zastava in Moscow, the constant threats to introduce a system of special rule in the country, and the contemptuous attitude toward the Constitution and laws are compelling progressive forces to rally together, to seek new forms and ways of unification, organization, and of defending not far-fetched abstract interests suggested by "well-wishers" from across the ocean, but the vital interests of each individual.

It is a question of the accelerated creation of a mighty political center.

Unfortunately, the experience of the centrist movement in Russia by virtue of a number of well-known circumstances is small and, so far, not very productive.

In recent times, the idea of the creation of a political center was embodied in the "Civic Union," which embraced the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, the Democratic Party of Russia, and the People's Party of Free Russia.

Their leaders—Arkadiy Volskiy, Nikolay Travkin, and Aleksandr Rutskoy—are commonsense pragmatists and political figures who enjoy authority among the people's deputies and various strata of society.

A number of actions undertaken by "Civic Union" had a stabilizing effect. At any rate, the president and his entourage were unable to forecast the opinion of "Civic Union."

Nowadays, a qualitatively new situation has been created. The radical democrats have switched to a resolute offensive which flouts any rules of political relations. Now everybody understands that the absence of a mighty centrist bloc is a breeding ground for uncontrolled voluntarism, and that it is nudging the country toward chaos.

These burning problems constituted a subject for discussion at a consultative conference of over 30 parties, social associations, and action groups representing the political center's stances, which was held in Moscow a few days ago.

The fact that this is perhaps the first time that the consolidation of commonsense forces has revealed itself so much under the spotlight warrants attention. Not only did did representatives of political parties attend the conference and expound explanations of their positions, but also professional organizations, women's organizations, youth organizations, and scientific organizations. The remarks of cultural figures were voiced with conviction.

The conference participants proceeded from the premise that the formation of a political center is being delayed unacceptably. It is worth explaining to the broad masses in accessible form that centrism is not only—and not so much—the area between the irreconcilable left and right sides of Vasilyevskiy Spusk.

It is something more: It is a considered, clear, balanced position, a guarantee of citizens' rights and freedoms, socially oriented evolutionary reforms, revived spiritual health, patriotism, harmonious ethnic relations, devotion to a stabilizing democracy, respect for the law and for law and order. As an analysis of existing social forces reveals, these principles are attracting an increasing number of supporters, particularly in the Russian provinces.

Today there are two main questions which the political center should concentrate its efforts on solving. The first concerns the modification and adoption of a new Russian Federation Constitution. In any case, the establishment of a dictatorship or the infringement of democracy cannot be permitted. The absence of the post of vice president, the bifurcated nature of parliament, and the virtual devaluation of the role of the Constitutional Court are removing the final limitations.

Should the president's version of the Constitution be adopted, it will be possible to dictate any terms to the Congress of People's Deputies, to put it in its place with a regal pointing finger, and if need be to dissolve it.

It would seem that the commonsense forces cannot and should not reconcile themselves to such a concept of democracy. It is vital to strive to hold simultaneous presidential and parliamentary elections in the near future. At the present time, this is the only chance of salvaging social peace. A broad centrist coalition is capable of offering the electorate a clear program, as well as proposing for state posts, in the center and in the localities, and for the organs of state power and self-government, candidates who are capable of assuming the full panoply of responsibility for pacifying Russia and bringing it out of the global crisis.

New Russian Intelligence Magazine Published

OW2605023393 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 24 May 93

[From the "Half an Hour With Wang Xiao" program]

[Text] The first edition of a news magazine INTELLIGENCE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE [ZHEN CHA HAN FAN ZHEN CHA] has been published in Russia. Here is an introduction to the new magazine by our station reporter:

The journal was an immediate hit. All (?30,000) copies were sold out within a few days. It is an official publication of a Russian intelligence organization [te wu ji gou]. People cannot help but ask this question: Is there any role for Russia's intelligence and counterintelligence agencies?

This magazine, however, will not publish anything that is currently a Russian state secret. The kinds of materials it publishes, however, do arouse readers' interests. I am talking about memoirs of Russian intelligence personnel, which are quite trustworthy, as well as [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] is published for the first time, which will help people understand [words indistinct] during and after the war. When I got hold of a copy of this magazine, I could not put it down until I had finished it from cover to cover. The materials concerning noted Russian agents (Arpuzov) and (Azheliy) are really astonishing. The inside stories of the security ministry and [words indistinct] during the years of Stalin's terror are (?terrifying).

Colonel (Yekelayev), the chief editor, said: Our main objective is to introduce readers to our work, explain to them the significance—to the state and society—of intelligence and counterintelligence work. After the aborted coup attempt in August 1991, thousands upon thousands of Russians gathered outside the KGB building to voice their angry protest. In their eyes, the KGB is an instrument of repression whose main functions are to conduct political (?investigations) and crack down on dissidents. True, those kinds of things were done. Every intelligence

agencies around the world is subordinate to the government. The communist government required us to investigate and [word indistinct] dissidents and religious organizations. This is what [words indistinct]. The work of today's Russian intelligence and counterintelligence agencies is like that of intelligence agencies in all countries: That is, to safeguard the interests of the state and nation.

Russian papers and journals have lately carried reports on Russian underground society establishing ties with criminal rings abroad. Trafficking in narcotics is something the Security Ministry is very concerned about. However, we have made considerable progress in the antinarcotics struggle. In coming programs, this station will carry reports on the struggle of Russia's intelligence personnel against international drug traffickers.

This reporter's last question to chief editor (Yekelayev) is: Will INTELLIGENCE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE be published abroad?

His answer: We do not rule out that possibility.

Constitutional Court Judge on IZVESTIYA Case

PM2605090993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with Constitutional Court member G.A. Gadzhiyev by Olga Kondratyeva under the "Opinion" rubric; place and date not given: "Gadis Gadzhiyev: 'IZVESTIYA Affair Not Yet Over'"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Constitutional Court has completed scrutiny of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decree of 17 July 1992 "On the IZVESTIYA Newspaper" and deemed it to be in conflict with a number of articles of the Constitution. We requested G.A. Gadzhiyev, a Constitutional Court member and the judge who delivered the keynote report on the case, to comment on this matter.

[Kondratyeva] Gadis Abdullayevich, did the Constitutional Court's decision put an end to the matter of IZVESTIYA's relationship with the Russian Supreme Soviet?

[Gadzhiyev] "The IZVESTIYA affair" did not end with the Constitutional Court's decision. Actually three courts were put onto the matter. First of all, the newspaper's journalists turned to the Russian Federation Supreme Court, but Supreme Court member Nechayev refused to allow the question to be questioned; what is more, this refusal cannot be contested through an appeal. In so doing the Supreme Court refused to apply Article 63 of the Constitution, which says that citizens have a right to legal protection. As a result the Constitutional Court had to examine the case, although it was within our rights to point out that the the Supreme Court had violated the Constitution and refuse to examine the case, but we did not go along that path. Although the Constitutional Court's decision notes: On the basis of Article 165 of the Constitution a submission should be sent to the Supreme Court drawing its attention to the fact that the refusal is without foundation.

We also got into a moot area of jurisdiction with the Supreme Court of Arbitration as it only examines property disputes.

[Kondratyeva] Could you comment fully on those articles of the Constitution to which the Constitutional Court refers in its decision?

[Gadzhiyev] We first of all noticed that the Supreme Soviet decree contradicted the fundamental article of the Constitution on the separation of powers. We perceived that the Supreme Soviet was going beyond its jurisdiction in its actions. How did this manifest itself?

I can say the following about the decree's first paragraph—on resuming publication of the newspaper IZVESTIYA SOVETOV NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV ROSSIYSKOY FEDERATSII on the basis of the IZVESTIYA publishing house. When the representative branch of power orders a publishing house to publish a new newspaper, it is in effect disposing of state property, but the executive branch of power was also making a claim to this very property, saying: Excuse me, we are the ones who are in charge of the publishing house. A dispute arose between the two branches of power, and Article 163 of the Constitution says that in this case the third branch of power—the judiciary—should intervene. But the Supreme Soviet, without waiting for the judiciary to make its decision, adopted a decision itself and violated the principle of the separation of powers.

[Kondratyeva] What grounds does the executive branch have for claiming the publishing house's property?

[Gadzhiyev] This also proved to be the most important question to the court. Let us recall what has happened since August 1991: The destruction of the previous structures of the legislative and executive branches of power was accompanied by an impudent and cynical division of property on the basis of a tacit agreement between the two branches of power. They were accomplices in this unpublicized deal, turning a blind eye to the unjust actions they committed against one another. The Russian Supreme Soviet appropriated what had belonged to the USSR Supreme Soviet's structures, and the president's administration and the government took everything which had belonged to Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee. The former and the latter got around the law on the economic basis of sovereignty which existed then—a political and bad law, but a law just the same, which was meant to fight the Union structures. It said that all former Union property situated on Russian territory is Russian. It indicated that the Council of Ministers is in charge of this property. This is the old Soviet way of doing things—the executive branch of power is in charge of everything.

How should the Union property have been transferred to Russia? Probably from the former state to the new state in its entirety; thereafter all the property should have been distributed in accordance with the laws. But they are such that charge of property passes to the executive branch of power. But it was the Supreme Soviet which created these laws. Consequently, in the question of the publishing house the Supreme Soviet should have turned to the State Committee for the Management of State Property. Only it could have transferred the publishing house to Supreme Soviet's charge. Then the Supreme Soviet would have acted as its founder.

In fact the Supreme Soviet expressed its right to act as founder on the basis of succession. But the USSR Supreme Soviet did not possess the right to act as founder. The institution of founder only appeared from 25 December 1990.

Let us pass onto the decree's second paragraph: The Supreme Soviet instructed the Ministry of the Press and Information to bring IZVESTIYA'a founding documents in line with the law. How could this be accomplished? The publication could be registered. But for this the publication itself would have to approach the ministry to reregister. This is absurd. Another way would be for the Ministry of the Press to approach the court to get it to deem the registration certificate which had been issued null and void. But only the executive branch of power can carry out such instructions. Once again the Supreme Soviet violated the principle of the separation of powers.

But the most important thing which set all the Constitutional Court judges against the decree was the way in which it was adopted. N. Ryabov read out one version of the decree at the Supreme Soviet session. In the course of its discussion, R. Khasbulatov reformulated it, and a second version was put to the vote. Finally, an official text comes out which corresponds neither to the first nor to the second version. So, who adopted the decree—the Supreme Soviet or the apparat? There is only one conclusion you can come to—it was the apparat. And this is a violation of the law.

[Kondratyeva] In the course of the court examination, experts expressed the idea that the present Constitution is contradictory because it is extremely difficult to resolve questions using its articles.

[Gadzhiyev] Yes, it really is; the Constitution is simply crammed full of contradictions; however, it permits the Constitutional Court to adopt decisions.

[Kondratyeva] So the situation today is as follows: The Russian Supreme Soviet is the IZVESTIYA publishing house's founder...

[Gadzhiyev] Yes, articles of incorporation are in preparation to regulate the Supreme Soviet's relationship with the publishing house. Then there is the independent newspaper IZVESTIYA which from the point of view of business law has registered leasing relations with the publishing house. The matter of the newspaper using its premises has not been regulated. For the moment the newspaper is paying nothing, although even from the point of view of the State Committee for the Management of State Property directive, leasehold relations should be registered. The editorial office should pay for state property. The court of arbitration will decide this. Incidentally, it is absolutely possible that the Constitutional Court will soon examine a petition from a group of people's deputies about how, in their opinion, the State Committee for the Management of State Property directive concerning the building on Pushkin Square is unconstitutional.

Economic Issues

Fedorov on Cost of Pre-Referendum Decisions

LD2505214393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 May 93

[Fedorov remarks recorded]

[Text] Russian Vice Premier Boris Fedorov held a news conference in Moscow on Tuesday [25 May]. The main purpose was to explain the government's credit and financial policy for the coming months. This was earlier set out in a joint letter from the Ministry of Finance and the Russian Central Bank to the IMF. Here is Sergey Shivikin with the details:

[Shivikin] Boris Fedorov noted that the coordination of credit and financial policy has taken place on the foundations proposed by the government. The Central Bank's experts were obliged to agree with the accuracy of the calculations of the specialists from the Ministry of Economy and Finances and other departments of the executive power. This policy will be quite harsh.

[Fedorov] Naturally, the government will be obliged to undertake very harsh measures. It is far from being the case that only the Central Bank or the Supreme Soviet or someone else is to blame for inflation, and we have never concealed this. Therefore, we are proposing a set of measures which will be implemented in the near future in order to reduce various types of subsidies and inefficient expenditure.

[Shivikin] The vice premier was asked what he thinks about President Yeltsin's decision to halt the validity of the measures introduced in April to restrict price formation on oil and oil products.

[Fedorov] Indeed, the decision was taken under the influence of many factors, including political ones, in the very nervous atmosphere before the referendum. This caused us harm. I do not have the exact figure but I think this whole business cost us a minimum of 100 billion rubles [R].

[Shivikin] If one is to believe the ITAR-TASS report, then Boris Fedorov said this, I quote: The pre-referendum decisions cost a total of R7 trillion; it will not be easy to fulfill these decisions, but it is possible.

I quote a report from another agency, RIA: Boris Fedorov estimated the cost of President Boris Yeltsin's pre-referendum decrees at about R7 trillion.

The figure of 7 trillion really did occur in Boris Fedorov's speech, but it was mentioned in a different context.

[Fedorov] In principle, the budget deficit is being reassessed today in connection with inflation. This is an on-going process. As you may recall, the deficit was confirmed at the end of March at about 7 trillion. We think that if we manage to get through the whole year with a deficit, taking account of inflation, of about 10 or 11 trillion, this would be a victory.

[Shivikin] A sad blunder by our colleagues. I think that on 26 May many newspapers and radio stations will be commenting on the high cost to Russia of Boris Yeltsin's political decisions. As you have seen, such commentaries should be taken with more than a grain of salt.

Economic Data for January-April Cited

PM2505141993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 93 First Edition p 2

["State Committee for Statistics Report: Russia's Economy in January-April"]

[Text] During January-April, Russia's produced national income fell by 18 percent and volume of industrial production by 18.6 percent in comparison with the same period last year.

In comparison with the first four months of 1990 industrial output in the country declined by 32.6 percent.

The volume of average daily production in April taking seasonal factors into account was 99.3 percent of the March level.

A fall of 25 or more percent in average daily output in April in comparison with April last year affected half the products on the reportable list. They include pig iron, turbines, big electrical machines, metal cutting and woodworking machine tools, bulldozers, excavators, caustic soda, polystyrene, slate, soft roofing and insulating material, timber materials, radio receivers, cameras, knitwear, footwear, margarine products, granulated sugar, flour, and pasta products.

At the same time April saw an increase in the daily production of 87 products (out of 263 reportable products) in comparison with the previous month. These include petroleum, coking coal, finished rolled metal, passenger railcars, tractor reapers, sulfuric acid, mineral fertilizers, automobile tires, videocassette recorders, bicycles, sausage products, and animal fat.

April saw stoppages of all or some production facilities at 2,600 industrial enterprises, mainly as a result of unavailability of raw and other materials, fuel, and components (47 percent of worktime losses) and also difficulties in selling their output because of consumers' inability to pay (42 percent). Worktime lost in the first four months of the year exceeded 28 million man-days—that is, every worker was idle for an average of 1.5 workdays.

In agriculture the total area sown to spring crops as of 17 May was 32.7 million hectares (the figure for the same date in 1992 was 38.1 million). Spring grain crops had been sown over an area of 21.1 million hectares as against 23.5 million by the same date last year.

The situation in stockraising remains complex. In comparison with the same period last year, January-April meat production at agricultural enterprises fell by 305,000 tonnes (13 percent), milk production by 1.1 million tonnes (12 percent), and egg production by 1.2 billion (11 percent).

In comparison with 1 April 1992 the cattle population on all categories of farms on 1 April had declined by 5 percent, including a 2 percent drop in cow numbers, a 12 percent drop in hog numbers, and a 9 percent drop in sheep numbers.

In January-April 1992 enterprises and organizations under all forms of ownership made use of 2.5 trillion rubles [R] of capital investments—3 percent less than the same period last year. During the four months housing totaling 5.4 million square meters (102 percent of the January-April 1992 level) was built in Russia our of all sources of funding. Some 48 percent less housing was commissioned than in January-April 1990.

In comparison with December last year consumer prices in April increased 140 percent. Wholesale prices in industry rose 150 percent.

In comparison with December last year prices in April rose by 140 percent for food products (up 17.5 percent in April) and by 100 percent for industrial products (up 17.8 percent in April).

Data Does Not Support 'Optimism'

PM2505150593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 93 p 1

[Viktor Khatuntsev report: "Into the Market: Free Fall"]

[Text] The State Committee for Statistics has published data on the state of the economy in Russia. I do not know the basis for the optimism of the politicians, from the president down, about a claimed stabilization, but the figures and percentages do not bear that out.

Comparing the first four months with the same period last year, national income produced in that period fell by 18 percent and the volume of industrial production fell by 18.6 percent. It is alarming when you realize that

compared with 1990 the decline amounts to 32.6 percent. And that was a bad year, even though some degree of manageability of the national economy was retained.

Of course the movement toward the market demands sacrifices, but with the present abundance of ministries and departments and local administrators and heads of administrations no one is managing production itself. According to Gaydar everything has to be organized according to interests, as it were. It is just that in practice all abstract theories have the opposite effect. Hence we have a slump in meat production of 13 percent, a slump in milk production of 12 percent, and a slump in egg production of 11 percent. Perhaps the population has become "fastidious," so to speak, and is rejecting basic foodstuffs? Nothing of the kind! Millions of people are underfed because of the crazy rise in prices and because agricultural producers have been crushed by costs for machinery, fuel, and feed. In a great many indicators Russia has slipped back to the level of the seventies. Herd sizes are continuing to decline and winter and spring crops are diminishing.

But if we do not grow wheat, potatoes, or sugar beet we are doomed to an increase of just one thing—prices, and this means speculation. Prices rocketed 140 percent between December and April alone. How can people talk about stabilization? Are they trying to pull the wool over the viewers' eyes? As for inflation, it surely cannot be long before the ruble passes the thousand-to-the-dollar mark. Chubays said recently that the government will not allow this to happen, but market forces are stronger than any noble intentions.

Thus the reforms are proceeding. And the country is all the poorer.

Space & Military Issues

'Military Space Forces' Launch Satellite

LD2605084793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0808 GMT 26 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—The Russian military space forces launched a communication "Molniya-1T" satellite early on Wednesday [26 May] from the northern Plesetsk launching site, TASS learned from the press centre of the space forces.

The multi-channel system onboard the satellite provides for telephone communications between Siberia and the European part of the country, as well as for an exchange of programmes between regional TV networks.

The "Molniya" satellites also ensure hot line communication between Moscow and Washington.

The aim of the launch is to replace one of the four satellites of the communication system, according to the press centre.

Space Industry To Shut Down Buran Shuttle Program

OW2605055093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 25 May 93

[Studio report by Petr Orlov; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] We received a report from the Energiya NPO [Scientific Production Association] on 25 May that the Chief Designers Council, the specialists of the Russian space industry, have concluded that the Buran program must be shut down. So the Buran program has been stopped and the flight of the Buran to the Mir space station in 1994 will not take place. This view had been voiced earlier, but only as an option. Now the decision has been finally adopted.

We can regret this or welcome it, but I would like to draw your attention to several specific details. First, why this decision? There is no money for the Buran program. Second, there are no customers for the Buran program; the Energiya NPO, faced with continuing the development of the Russian shuttle spacecraft by itself, decided to stop because there are insufficient funds. Finally, and this is an important factor, for the first time in the history of Soviet-Russian cosmonautics, a decision of this kind was adopted not by the country's leaders but by the space designers themselves. So, it is a fact: The Buran program is over.

Shokhin Seen Bad for Relations With Military

MK2505122693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 25 May 93 p 3

[Mikhail Shapiro report published in the "Vice Premier's New Appointment" column: "Shokhin To Oversee Arms Exports"]

[Text] Another stage in the redistribution of powers in the governmental structures has been Aleksandr Shokhin's appointment as head of the Interdepartmental Commission on Military-Technical Cooperation With Foreign Countries, following Georgiy Khizha's resignation. Yesterday Shokhin told a press conference that the post of chairman of this commission would probably soon be held by the first deputy foreign economic relations minister on an ex officio basis.

The Interdepartmental Commission on Military-Technical Cooperation with Foreign Countries was established under a presidential edict on Yegor Gaydar's initiative in 1992. Aleksandr Shokhin oversaw the commission's activities for a certain period. Then Georgiy Khizha was appointed commission chairman. The commission's main functions are to oversee the production and export of arms.

Observers regard Aleksandr Shokhin's latest appointment as an event that could worsen relations between the military-industrial complex and the executive branch. In contrast to Georgiy Khizha, Aleksandr Shokhin will hardly be accepted by defense enterprise directors as

"one of their own." The post of the first deputy foreign economic relations minister is still vacant. As Shokhin said, he knows who will take it but that it is premature to disclose the man's name. It is not ruled out that this post will be occupied by just another representative of the military-industrial complex.

In accordance with the directive, Shokhin is to reshuffle the commission. As a commission apparatus officer observed, cadre reshuffles will be made within a month.

Draft Military Doctrine Based on Collective Security

LD2505160193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1349 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"We are working on draft fundamentals of a Russian military doctrine. Still so far one can speak only of a rough copy of the document," head of the Parliament Committee on Defence and Security Sergey Stepashin told ITAR-TASS.

The committee has recently heard a report of a representative of the Russian Defence Ministry. An expert team to include members of the parliamentary committee, the Defence Ministry and the Security Council, is working to improve the document.

"We have agreed the draft will be once again analyzed by the Security Council and the parliament committee before fall to be submitted to the president and the parliament," he said.

Proposals put forward by the current conference with the theme "humanization of military activities and reform of the Armed Forces" can be used in elaboration of the doctrine, which, in the opinion of both civilian and military officials, "should focus on humane aspects and non-use of military force to achieve economic and political goals", noted the parliament representative.

Stepashin said his committee took active part in organization of the conference.

In his opinion, the elaboration of major aspects of military legislation should "be closely linked to army route and interaction of civil society and the Armed Forces". This includes humanization of military activities, which so far "is implemented only theoretically", stressed Stepashin.

Supreme Soviet

Hearings Open 25 May on Draft Constitution

LD2505124493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Parliamentary hearings on the Russian Federation's new draft constitution opened at the Russian Supreme Soviet today. Over to our special correspondent, Yevgeniy Zherebenkov.

[Zherebenkov] These parliamentary hearings open a 10-day conference of representatives of members of the Federation during which the draft of the new constitution prepared by the Constitutional Commission will be finalized. The revised text will be presented to the participants in the Constitutional Conference scheduled for 5 June, at which the president's draft constitution is the main document to be discussed.

Opening the parliamentary hearings, Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Constitutional Commission, noted that the Constitutional Commission cannot claim that its draft is totally superior to that of the president, if only because it has not yet been adopted and, clearly, does not entirely satisfy the members of the Federation.

But, Nikolay Ryabov said, the fact that the commission has spent three years working on this draft cannot be ignored. Top experts on state law were involved in the work. Many deputies also had a hand in it. This draft contains quite a few provisions of which we can be proud, and we intend to uphold these provisions, Nikolay Ryabov stressed. But, according to the deputy chairman of the Constitutional Commission, the situation is such that we have to bear in mind the existence of the president's version of the constitution and to work on a single agreed draft. The result of this work must be a single text of the constitution which, after final revision, will be submitted to the Congress of People's Deputies.

According to Oleg Rumyantsev, senior secretary of the Constitutional Commission, there are only three articles in the president's version of the constitution which, after some revision, could be adopted. Overall Rumyantsev regards the president's version as a restoration of the tradition of autocratic rule in Russia. According to the senior secretary of the Constitutional Commission, this draft substantially reduces the human rights and freedoms enshrined in the existing constitution. The Constitutional Commission's official draft should be the basis for work on the new constitution, Rumyantsev believes. If this is done, amendments based on the presidential draft can be incorporated in it. The constitution should then be submitted to the Congress of People's Deputies, which will adopt it in two readings.

According to Oleg Rumyantsev, any other way of adopting the constitution will lead to a campaign of civil disobedience and refusal to obey the principles of this constitution.

Despite their representative nature, the parliamentary hearings are inhibited by their form of debate. No decisions are being made at them. Only the Supreme Soviet has this right, but it has adjourned for a week. Parliament will not meet again until 2 June. The deputies have dispersed to their constituencies without defining their attitude toward the new draft constitution proposed by the President and the arrangements for

adopting it. There is still no clear indication as to what proposals the Constitutional Commission and parliament intend to put to the Constitutional Conference scheduled for 5 June or the manner in which they intend to take part in this conference.

Khasbulatov To Meet All Deputies by 31 May

LD2605094593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0830 GMT 26 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Sochi, 26 May—Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, is to call all Russian Federation people's deputies to Moscow by Monday 31 May in order to hold a meeting. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed of this today by Ruslan Khasbulatov's advisor, Artur Chilingarov. According to him, the speaker intends to discuss with his colleagues the dates for convening a Congress of Russian Federation people's deputies, and also events connected to the development of the constitutional process. It is indicative that the speaker's initiative was born after the intention of Boris Yeltsin to convene a meeting of deputies with the president, planned for tomorrow, that an ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed about by Presidential Council member, Georgiy Satarov. Both advisors—Chilingarov and Satarov, who took part in the Russian-U.S. conference "Choices: Challenge and the Alternative" that was held in Sochi, today flew to Moscow to help the two leaders in holding the planned meetings.

Air Defense Forces Commander Testifies in Committee

PM2505152593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 May 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Ivanov report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "Questions of Russia's Air Defenses Examined in Parliamentary Committee on Defense and Security Questions"]

[Text] Addressing the session, Colonel General Viktor Prudnikov, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces, described in detail the progress of the reform being carried out among the troops.

He devoted special attention to problems connected with the subunits' manning with compulsory-service personnel and with funding the troops' vital activity. The importance of preserving a unified air defense system was emphasized at the committee session.

Regional Affairs

Khasbulatov's Visit to Novgorod Summarized

LD2505142793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1246 GMT 25 May 93

[Excerpts] Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, has arrived in Novgorod. One of those there to meet him when his flight landed was a correspondent for the (Slavia) broadcasting company, Vera Lityagina. She asked Ruslan Imranovich about the purpose of his visit, and here is his answer:

[Begin recording] [Khasbulatov] I want to have a look around and listen to what the people of Novgorod are thinking and what their lives are like. I also want to look at things in terms of what the people of Novgorod have to say about life here and about high-level politics and high-level politicking, because I am responsible for the whole country.

[Lityagina] You have just been to the Pskov region. What sort of impression did you get there?

[Khasbulatov] I got an excellent impression. Let me tell you bluntly that the attitude toward me and the Supreme Soviet was simply what I can call good. People are beginning increasingly to understand and think, and this too is a pleasant trend. [end recording]

[Lityagina] In the morning Ruslan Khasbulatov met with the oblast administration, where the topics of conversation were taxation policy, the free economic zone in the Novgorod region, and the price-setting process. He did not start talking about high-level politics until he got to the Kvant production association. [passage omitted]

During a meeting with the enterprise's staff, the speaker of parliament stressed that he would not put on a superficial display of peace and unity with the president and government. Responsibility for the crisis in this country rests fully on the shoulders of the president and government, he declared, and on the people, who supported the president and his policies in the referendum. [passage omitted]

A meeting between the parliament speaker and activists in the oblast is about to begin in the house of soviets. We hope that the crucial issue—the constitution—will also come up at that meeting, because there has not been any serious discussion of this subject so far.

Dudayev Nephew Said To Have Died in Car Accident

LD2605002693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] The situation in Groznyy remains tense. Dzhokhar Dudayev's supporters today did not permit Chechen parliament members to hold a nationwide rally at Sheykh Mansur Square. They drove people back by firing into the air. Those who had gone to the rally moved off to Theater Square and joined the opposition rally which has been proceeding continuously since 15 April. The number of participants in the rally on Theater Square has increased many times, and it looks as if this rally which previously was an opposition rally is already becoming a nationwide one.

The organizers of the opposition rally denied the report that Shamil Dudayev, the nephew of the Chechen president, had been mortally wounded in the course of a clash this morning between Dzokhar Dudayev's supporters and opponents. One of the members of the rally headquarters who wished to remain anonymous told an ITAR- TASS correspondent that Shamil Dudayev had died as early as yesterday as the result of a car accident. However, for the time being, it has not possible to confirm or deny this version or to find out the details.

Anti-Dudayev Forces Reportedly Unite

LD2605101493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0905 GMT 26 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 26 May—Yesterday's armed clash between supporters and opponents of Dzhokhar Dudayev has, it seems, been localized, and outwardly, the night went by peacefully in Groznyy. Armed formations loyal to the president have stepped up security at important installations and administrative buildings in the city, but the big rally is continuing on Theater Square.

Up to now, the Chechen Parliament and opposition parties and movements have kept a certain distance between themselves, even though they share the same basic aim—to hold a referendum on 5 June on the form of state administration in Chechnya. But following yesterday's refusal by Dzhokhar Dudayev's supporters to allow the parliamentarians to hold a national rally, these forces have, it seems, united. Today, the demonstrators on Theater Square include not just the followers of the opposition, who were there before, but also supporters of the Chechen Parliament and the Government of People's Confidence, headed by Yaragiy Mamodayev, which it has set up.

Yakutia Spurns Yeltsin's Draft Constitution

MK2505103093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 93 p 2

[Interview with unidentified Yakut official by Radik Batyrshin: "Yakutian Parliament Rejects Presidential Draft Constitution"; place and date not given]

[Text] [Batyrshin] On 20 May, the Yakutian Supreme Soviet completed its session that considered the presidential draft of the Russian Federation Constitution...

[Official] We are creating a new, democratic state—the Russian Federation. It is not clear from the draft on which principles it is to be created. And a state cannot exist without principles. The Federation Treaty, which has stabilized the situation in the Russian Federation, has not been included in the draft in its full version. Moreover, the draft places us outside the Russian Federation because it does not recognize the republics' status of sovereign states and in effect deprives us of our property. And the main wealth of our republic is its natural resources. I am certain that this concerns not only us, but also other Russian republics. This is why the Supreme Soviet did not adopt the draft Russian Constitution as a basis but decided to participate in drawing up a draft constitution on a workman-like basis.

[Batyrshin] What does this mean?

[Official] We have delegated two deputies, who are lawyers, to take part in the working group made up of representatives of Russian Federation components.

[Batyrshin] Boris Yeltsin has issued an edict convening a constitutional conference. What is your attitude to the edict?

[Official] We are thoroughly studying the edict and are ready to attend the conference.

[Batyrshin] It has been often said that it is the constitutional conference that should adopt the new Fundamental Law...

[Official] Everything will depend on whether this body acquires constitutionality.

Yakutia, Tatarstan Want Independence Recognized

MK2605110093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 May 93 pp 1, 3

[Radik Batyrshin report under the rubric "Russian Federation": "Kazan and Yakutsk Dislike Both Draft Constitutions of Russian Federation"]

[Text] Parliaments of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), and Tatarstan examined both drafts of Russia's constitution in a span of one week. The first to voice its attitude was the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). On 18 May, an appropriate decree was adopted by the session of the Yakut parliament. It says that "both drafts submitted do not correspond with the Federation Treaty, and do not affirm the federation's constitution- and treaty-based nature; they do not take into account the current Constitution of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), and thus leave the republic outside the Russian Federation." According to Yakut deputies, "neither draft Constitution of the Russian Federation can be the basis for a constitution of a genuinely federative state." Concordant with them are their Tatarstan counterparts, who discussed the drafts of Russia's constitution yesterday. "The submitted draft constitutions reflect the differences that have arisen in relations between the branches of federal power; they deprive federation components of economic and political independence in decisionmaking, which could cause a split in civil society; they in fact perpetuate the unitarian nature of the Russian Federation," notes the decree of Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet. In Kazan's opinion, work should be continued on Russia's fundamental law "taking account of those principles in both draft constitutions

that serve unity, and proposals made by components of the federation." This is something insisted upon by Yakutsk, which proposes that the Russian Supreme Soviet and Boris Yeltsin find a compromise in the constitutional process, and submit for discussion and final adoption one draft constitution of the Russian Federation." The decree by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) notes that "the mechanics of adoption of a constitution should take into account the experience of the signing of the Federation Treaty; the Russian Federation draft constitution should be initialed by components of the federation, and constitutionality of the mechanism for the adoption of a new constitution of the Russian Federation should be observed." Put plainly, should the new fundamental law of the Russian Federation be adopted by a constitutional conference (constitutional assembly, etc.), the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia should delegate to it its constitutional powers.

There ends the similarity of Yakutsk's and Kazan's positions because, unlike the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia,) Tatarstan did not sign the Federation Treaty. Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet proceeds from "the inviolability of principles inscribed in the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Tatarstan, the 21 March 1992 referendum results on the republic's state status and Tatarstan's new constitution," reads the 25 May decree. Let me remind you that Tatarstan's new fundamental law defines the republic's status as "a sovereign state, a subject of international law, associated with the Russian Federation on the basis of a treaty on mutual delegation of powers and jurisdictions." According to Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet, the dragged-out negotiating process "gives rise to doubts about Russian leaders' commitment to the idea of reforming the federation on new democratic principles." Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet believes it necessary that federal bodies of power officially recognize the republic's new status and that a separate provision be included in a draft new constitution of the Russian Federation on treaty- and constitution-based relations between Tatarstan and Russia. The people's deputies tasked President Mintimer Shaymiyev and Supreme Soviet Chairman Farid Mukhametshin with bringing to the notice of Boris Yeltsin and Ruslan Khasbulatov the position of Tatarstan's parliament. Curiously, Russian Federation Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray stopped over unexpectedly in Kazan on his way back from Omsk in the evening of 24 May. A confidential discussion between President Mintimer Shaymiyev and Supreme Soviet Chairman Farid Mukhametshin with Sergey Shakhray lasted for nearly one hour. The content of the discussion is unknown, but one can confidently suppose that its subject was yet another (possibly the last) round of talks between Kazan and Moscow coming on the heels of Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet session. Incidentally, Mintimer Shaymiyev will be taking part in the session of the Council of Heads of Republics today.

Regional Chief Outlines Path to Constitution

PM2505150193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 May 93 p 2

[Interview with Yevgeniy Krestyaninov, chairman of the Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast Soviet, conducted by Lyubov Tsukanova under the "Draft Constitution: Opinions and Assessments" rubric; place and date not given: "Toward the New Constitution Via the Federation Council"]

[Text] [Tsukanova] Yevgeniy Vladimirovich, there are differing viewpoints as to how the "president's team" should conduct itself in the light of the referendum results. If asked, how would you advise the president to act?

[Krestyaninov] I would advise him to act in a considered way. At least, I would not interpret the results of the vote on the fourth question as meaning the present deputies have lost their legitimacy. There is, in my view, a perfectly normal and legitimate way of resolving this situation—that which is now being undertaken by the legislative and executive authorities—namely, the adoption of a new constitution and the formation, based on elections, of new power structures in accordance with the provision on the new power structures which is being introduced into the constitution.

[Tsukanova] There are two parallel constitutional processes currently under way. Is there, in your view, a realistic mechanism for resolving this clash?

[Krestyaninov] There is. It is not specially new, and we have talked about it. I have talked about it, notably at the government session on 29 April and at the latest conference of soviet leaders. This path is similar to the one followed during the signing of the Federation Treaty. That is to say, the maximum involvement of the components of the Federation in the process. This can be done if our long-standing proposal on creating a Federation Council is put into effect. That would be the simplest route. The Federation Council or, as the president now calls it, the Council of the Components of the Federation, could delegate representatives from its own ranks plus there would be representatives of the Supreme Soviet, representatives of the president, the Constitutional Commission...

The point is that both draft constitutions are perfectly suitable for making a single, good, and effective Basic Law out of them. The draft prepared by the Alekseyev group, the so-called president's draft, is more compact and is easier to interpret, and could be taken as the basis, although certain provisions, in particular those relating to the correlation of the powers of the president and the Federal Assembly, do certainly require to be modified. Ruslan Imranovich calls this the Latin American option. I disagree with that, it is a typical Franco-American constitution; indeed the French Constitution was taken as its basis. Certain wording has simply been transferred directly from it into our constitution, and the Russian mentality then superimposed on it—one branch of

power wanting to rule the other. That cannot be allowed. And this is perfectly feasible if, I repeat, the components of the Federation, which do not want confrontation between the branches of power, are involved. They want branches of power which are separate but collaborative.

[Tsukanova] The Federation Council is an illegitimate organ at present. Who could legitimate it?

[Krestyaninov] The Federation Council is most likely to be legitimated by the Congress of People's Deputies, but that will greatly depend again upon the activeness of the components themselves. If they sign an agreement recognizing that such an organ is necessary, I do not think the Congress will oppose such a decision. Anyone you like could serve to initiate the convocation of the Federation Council, but it is more logical, in my view, for the president, as the top state official, to do this.

I do not know whether it is worth seeking to adopt the constitution very quickly, in haste. But I do fully agree that the the process of working on the constitution must urgently be brought within a legal framework and the mechanism clearly defined, that needs to be done immediately. And then the Constitutional Conference should be held, which will draw up a single text from the two drafts and refer it to the components of the Federation, which will examine it and make comments. The comments will be received back by the Constitutional Conference, and the final text will have to be agreed without fail by all the components of the Federation.

That is a complex process. And we are somehow rather afraid of it, at least at federal level. But that is the only realistic process which will express our state's federal system.

I am not even talking about ratification at present, although that is the most desirable and preferable route—subsequent ratification of the constitution, as is done in all civilized federal states—but the achievement of agreement on adopting the constitution at least is essential. And then either the Congress of People's Deputies or a specially formed Constitutional Assembly can adopt the agreed text. That is a normal mechanism, it will avoid confrontation and will transform the battle raging over the work on the constitution into constructive endeavor.

[Tsukanova] Do you think that the Congress might accept this? After all, currently it is more the case of a battle to ensure the Congress adopts the Constitutional Commission's version.

[Krestyaninov] That too is very dangerous. For Congress now to reject the concerted will of the components of the Federation is actually to oppose Russia itself. The Federation is a formation whose components set up federal authorities in order for them to discharge the functions common to all in the best possible way. When the authorities start to stand above the components of the Federation they transform the state from a federal state to a unitary one. If the Congress opposes the will of the components of the Federation, it will thereby deny the basic principle enshrined in the Constitution—the principle of federalism. And then certainly the question of altering the correlation between the branches of power and the correlation of powers between the components of the Federation and the Federation as a whole will be posed with even greater gravity. That is to say, it will be a very painful process which could lead perfectly realistically to Russia's splitting up.

[Tsukanova] Your colleagues, the chairmen of soviets, do they hold the same view?

[Krestyaninov] There are different standpoints. Some of my colleagues are still nostalgic about the past, about how good it was... But many of them, at least in the industrial regions—Siberia, the Urals, and the Volga—share the idea of the Federation Council.

[Tsukanova] It is said that the components of the Federation should discuss... But who specifically?

[Krestyanin] Every component of the Federation (and that means people with territory and industrial and economic potential and property concentrated on the territory where they live) has at this moment its own legitimate representative and executive organs of power. There are two options. The first is to exercise the powers of the existing organs of power. The second option is that you can discuss the draft with the population to work out your own mechanism for this. But, I repeat, at this moment there are legitimate power structures which express the will of the people living on particular territory.

There is another complication. The components by no means enjoy equal rights in the current Constitution. They are not equal components, as they say. That must be overcome in the new constitution.

[Tsukanova] But there are a lot of people opposed to "overcoming" this in that way, aren't there?

[Krestyaninov] I have met and talked with many representatives of republic supreme soviets, and they are now coming to greater realization of the fact that differential status is detrimental not just to the krays and the oblasts but to them too. Therefore in respect of sociopolitical questions and involvement in political life all the components of the Federation should be equal.

[Tsukanova] Both draft constitutions have, as is well known, been sent to the components of the Federation. How is it intended to discuss them?

[Krestyaninov] I can say how it is being done here, in Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast. Copies of both drafts have been made and distributed to deputies and our best lawyers, and we will examine the two texts simultaneously. The comments and proposals regarding them will be systematized; we have a special commission

comprising deputies, representatives of the administration, and representatives of soviets at other levels for this purpose. And the decision will be made at a session of the oblast soviet.

More on Vice Premier Shakhray Visit to Siberia

PM2505141593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 Single Edition p 3

[Correspondent Gennadiy Gypylov report: "Both Drafts Are 'Good': They Give No Powers to the Regions"]

[Text] Irkutsk—Representatives of both branches of power in the eastern Siberian region have held a conference on the draft Russian Constitution. Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray familiarized them with his viewpoint, and also with the opinion of the inhabitants of the Far East, whom he had met the previous day.

Needless to say, the top-level guest was aware that this is not the first year in which the Siberians have planned to tackle their socioeconomic problems themselves. The view from here is somewhat different from the view from the capital. It is enough to recall last year's confrontation over the power industry complex, the argument about how to reprofile the Baykal pulp and paper combine, and the argument about the gold in the north of the oblast. So they exploited this discussion "opportunity" to issue a reminder once again that first and foremost they want equality between the subjects and the center, so that rights and duties can be clearly formulated.

The following wish was therefore expressed immediately: Let us in the final analysis regulate every aspect of the decisionmaking mechanism at federal and local level, above all with regard to using and protecting the natural environment, taxation, and the budget.

A reliable guarantee is therefore needed. Otherwise any issue could turn into a political tug-of-war, as was the case with the power industry question. The SIBTRANSPRESS agency recalled that the matter went to the Constitutional Court to be "sorted out." Incidentally, the conference proposed uniting the three judicial authorities into a single Russian Supreme Court with three chambers: constitutional, civil-criminal, and economic-administrative.

Krasnoyarsk Governor Valeriy Zubov proposed his own interesting procedure to the president and parliament, and also to the krays, oblasts, and republics. Briefly the essence of his proposal, which has been approved by a session of the kray soviet, is as follows: Prior to 1 June the president and the Supreme Soviet should set up a joint working commission for a month. If differing interpretations arise, a special protocol should be formulated, and all Russian Federation components familiarized with it in addition to the prepared draft. They submit suggestions and comments. The document is then submitted to the Congress. If it is not adopted, it should be put to a referendum.

The vice premier listened attentively to this proposal, which is on the whole simple and constructive, promising to relay it to the working commission on finalizing the draft Constitution. The region's statement has also been taken into account.

Congress of Ossetian People Held 21-22 May

LD2505184593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] According to information provided by an IBERIA agency correspondent, the second congress of Ossetian people was held in Vladikavkaz on 21 and 22 May. Representatives of the Ossetian diaspora in foreign countries and various regions of the former Soviet Union were invited to the congress.

The main point on the congress agenda were: elections to the (Stig) Nykhas, that is, the large council; the socio-political situation in North Ossetia; the socio-political situation in South Ossetia; and a political and legal assessment of the Ingush national extremist aggression against the Ossetian people.

The issue of the elections to the (Stig) Nykhas produced keen debates since, according to the opponents of this organization, its structure is parallel to the existing state governing structure and its election could result in a government crisis.

It must be noted that the issue of a stage-by-stage merger of South Ossetia with North Ossetia and the establishment of a common ruble zone, which could be made possible by the Russian investments, was discussed at the congress.

After Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to the congress, North Ossetia was allotted 25 billion rubles, and 1.7 billion rubles were allotted to support the peace-keeping forces in South Ossetia.

So-called South Ossetia was represented at the congress on a large scale. Members of its delegation were extremely anti- Georgian. Due to their demands, the correspondent of the IBERIA information agency had to leave the hall on the final day of the congress.

Buryat Leaders Favor Referendum on Combined Draft

PM2605091593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 Single Edition p 3

[Correspondent Gennadiy Gypylov report incorporating remarks by Buryat People's Deputy Iosif Pavlov and Buryatia Prime Minister Vladimir Saganov: "Buryatia Believes the People Should Be Asked"]

[Text] Ulan-Ude—The republic's parliament has not aligned itself with the statement by 11 Russian republics that rejected the presidential draft constitution. But it has not remained indifferent: It has discussed the constitutional drafts with the government, well-known

experts, and lawyers. It has decided that Moscow needs to form a working organ to formulate a single draft fundamental law on the basis of these drafts. It should be adopted in a nationwide referendum.

People's Deputy Iosif Pavlov, chairman of the "Baykalinvest" Fund, commented on this decision at a news conference:

"This approach will avert further political confrontation and a split in society. The Constitution is written primarily for the people, and it should be adopted with the consent of the majority of citizens.

"This point—consent—should receive special emphasis in the preamble. As far as the present drafts are concerned, they are all attractive, each one containing "something special." Parliament's draft is reminiscent of a kind of contract between the individual and the state. The presidential draft is a mechanism for political coordination. It contains the aggregate of civil norms in a civil society. At the same time Yeltsin's program, which envisages the separation of powers and the unity of the branches of power, presupposes that somebody will still be higher than everybody else. Will it turn out that the highest organ of power is the president?

"But, excuse me, Russia should not live according to his edicts and decrees alone, the way it recently lived according to Politburo decisions.

"Or else: This draft contains sections about introducing a state of emergency. But the holy of holies is not stipulated: Human rights must not be violated in this situation, nor must the relevant articles of the Constitution be revised."

The opinion of Vladimir Saganov, the republic's prime minister, is as follows:

"Both drafts should be taken as a starting point. We are worried by the Federation Treaty signed last year. What place does it occupy within the law, and on what principles will it be founded? In my view we need to clarify the status of Russia's constituent republics and the demarcation of powers between the center and the regions, and we must also establish a mechanism for guaranteeing the republics' political and economic sovereignty and their rights in regional policy. Bilateral agreement—that is what we need to reflect in the Constitution."

Saransk Conference Scores Mordovian Ex-President

PM2505154993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 93 p 2

["Own Information" report: "Mordovia's Long Farewell to Ex-President: Only the Branch of the Federal Executive is Supporting the Retiree"]

[Text] Saransk—V. Guslyannikov, former president of Mordovia, who is supported by the federal organs of executive power, is hindering the normal activity of the republic's government. He and his supporters are sowing chaos in the management of the republic's national economy, creating only the semblance of the leadership of economic and political processes. This was the conclusion of a conference in Saransk in which the chairmen of rayon, city, settlement, and rural soviets and leaders of the local administration, enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes in the Mordovian Soviet Socialist Republic took part. They noted in their collective statement that the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet's decision on the abolition of the presidency in Mordovia is supported by leaders of the Supreme Soviets of the republics in the Russian Federation.

The participants in the conference asked the Mordovian SSR Constitutional Court to examine the unlawful actions of the republic's former president and urged the Russian Federation Constitutional Court to rule on the unconstitutional actions of the federal organs of the executive.

The statement notes that work on the draft new Constitution of the Russian Federation prepared by the Constitutional Commission headed by President B.N. Yeltsin is continuing in the republic in a complex political situation. "We believe that the constitutional reform in Russia must be conducted by strictly constitutional methods within the framework of the existing Constitution of the Russian Federation and the law. We express the firm conviction that there must be a nationwide discussion of the draft Russian Constitution. Only then can the new Basic Law be adopted by the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation."

The leaders of local soviets and administrations and of labor collectives in the republic urged all branches of state power in the Russian Federation and the Mordovian SSR to ensure normal work to stabilize the national economy and preserve the integrity of the Russian state.

Krasnoyarsk Banned From Nuclear Plant Production

PM2505135193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 93 First Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report: "Production of Small AES' Banned at Krasnoyarsk-26"]

[Text] The Krasnoyarsk Kray Inner Soviet has banned production at the Krasnoyarsk Mining and Chemical Combine (at the closed Krasnoyarsk-26) of small nuclear power stations for remote regions of the Russian North.

The combine's specialists had elaborated a program for the development of small AES' [nuclear electric power stations] within the framework of the conversion of defense production. The Inner Soviet was prompted to ban the program because, in connection with the new production, a complex to train personnel for small AES' was to have been set up at the Krasnoyarsk Mining and Chemical Combine. For some reason this was not to the liking of the kray's representative authorities.

International Affairs

Official Reviews Arms Treaty Talks in U.S., Canada

LD2505191393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Dmytro Pavlychko, head of Ukraine's Supreme Council Commission for Foreign Affairs, has completed his week-long trip to the United States and Canada. He gave an interview to an UKRINFORM correspondent before leaving New York. The purpose of this visit, Pavlychko noted, was first of all to hold meetings in Washington, specifically in the Senate and the U.S. Congress.

Conversations were held with well-known Senators Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar. I used to meet with them in Kiev before, and I noticed back then that the mood has changed concerning the attitude in the United States toward Ukraine. This time I presented to them the opinion of a certain group of Ukrainian deputies who are involved in the preparation for the ratification of the START I Treaty and are working out Ukraine's stance on joining the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Answering a question about the Canadian part of the trip overseas, Pavlychko said: My stay in Canada lasted only one day. I went there first of all to see Ukrainian Ambassador Levko Lukyanenko. This meeting took place in Toronto, where a consulate general was recently opened. We solved many specific issues concerning the activization of our policies in Canada and, primarily, bringing our countries economically closer.

Peace Organizations Urge Ratification of Arms Treaties

LD2505175093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 25 May 93

[Excerpts] The Ukrainian Peace Council and the Ukrainian Peace Fund, expressing the view of the broad public circles, have declared their full support for the efforts of the UN and the Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations for disarmament, and those of other peacemaking organizations in the world which have joined the worldwide process of global disarmament on the principles of peacemaking and security. [passage omitted]

We are appealing to the Supreme Council of Ukraine to ratify the START I Treaty and the Nuclear Arms Non-Proliferation Treaty, which will lead to the improvement of the domestic political climate and the easing of tension in international relations, says the statement by the Ukrainian Peace Council and the Ukrainian Peace Fund.

Kiev To Consider Ships Flying Russian Flags 'Foreign'

LD2505214293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 25 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry has also issued a statement on the Black Sea Fleet. Russia's St. Andrew flags have been raised on nearly all ships of the Black Sea Fleet's 9th support brigade—127 of them already. A ship that has raised the flag of a foreign state will be considered foreign, which will entail the application of the norms of Ukrainian legislation forbidding the presence of the troops of other states on the territory of Ukraine, a spokesman of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry announced.

Defense Ministry Denies Black Sea Fleet Commander's Dismissal

LD2505112393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1054 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Efim Shvartsman]

[Text] Kiev May 25 TASS—Spokesman for the Ukrainian Defence Ministry denied reports that republican navy commander is to be dismissed for violations of the Yalta Agreements on the disputed Black Sea Fleet.

Aleksandr Kluban told TASS on Tuesday [25 May] that Vice-Admiral Boris Kozhin continues to fulfill his duties and reports about his dismissal do not correspond to reality.

"We know nothing about his transfer or planned replacement", the spokesman said, adding that such decisions are made by the Ukrainian president.

He refused to comment on an alleged agreement between the Russian and Ukrainian Defence Ministries to replace Kozhin.

In Moscow it became known that Vice-Admiral Vladimir Beskaravainyy, the commander of a nuclear submarine division of the Russian Northern Fleet, was sent to Ukraine by Pavel Grachev, the Russian defence minister, upon a request of his Ukrainian counterpart Konstantin Morozov.

Reliable sources in Sevastopol told TASS that Beskaravainyy is expected to replace Kozhin.

Further on Visit by Poland's President Walesa

LD2505163493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1449 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] The two-day official visit by Polish President Lech Walesa to Ukraine is drawing to a close. In Kiev he met Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk, Supreme Soviet Chairman Ivan Plyushch, and also parliamentarians and a number of ministers. A number of interstate

agreements were signed. Today the two presidents summed up the results of these two days at a joint news conference. Here are the details from our correspondent Vladimir Sokolov, who has joined us on the line from Kiev:

[Sokolov] Opening the news conference, Leonid Kravchuk noted complete identity of views at the talks.

[Begin Kravchuk recording, in Ukrainian, fading into Russian translation] I am particularly happy that the partnership between Ukraine and Poland in striving to achieve stability in the central European region, based on President Walesa's idea and Ukraine's proposal on the creation of a central European zone of stability and security, has met with such strong support. [end recording]

[Sokolov] Poland's experience in carrying out economic reforms is of value to Ukraine, he went on. At the present time our state is seeking a way out of the economic crisis, and we are closely following events in Poland, which has achieved considerable success along this path.

Lech Walesa said:

[Begin Walesa recording, in Polish, fading into Russian translation] A free and well-appointed Ukraine is in the interests of Poland, which will assist it in this in every way. However, I am not satisfied with the efectiveness of our cooperation: It should be broader and more active. I hope that the Consultative Conference set up by the two presidents, which has begun to operate over these past few days and is called upon to monitor the fulfillment of mutual commitments and suggest ways toward the further development of cooperation, will be of assistance in this. [end recording]

Replying to journalists' questions, both presidents reaffirmed that a joint Ukrainian-Polish bank will be set up. Walesa added that there would even be several such banks. In reply to a question on the possibility of setting up a joint central European market, both presidents noted that this is not desirable since it could give rise to confrontation, but it is necessary to proceed along a path of joining the European Common Market.

A final definition of relations between our countries as one of strategic partnership may be considered as the main political outcome of President Lech Walesa's visit, the talks with him and the agreements which were signed, Leonid Kravchuk said in conclusion.

Lech Walesa flies to Vilnius tomorrow. He will then visit Lvov.

Walesa Tours Galicia

LD2605103493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0901 GMT 26 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova]

[Text] Lvov May 26 TASS—Polish President Lech Walesa ended his official visit to Kiev on Wednesday [26 May]. Later in the day, he began an unofficial tour of the regional centres of Vinnitsa and Lvov where there are the most populous Polish communities.

On arriving in Lvov, Walesa noted that he wants to confirm the inviolability of borders and to meet the Polish minority living in the city during his first visit to the Ukrainian part of Galicia.

The president noted that Lvov was built by skilled workers from Ukraine, Poland, Germany, Italy and other countries. He expressed a wish to lay flowers at the graves of prominent countrymen at the Lychakovsky Memorial Cemetery.

A devine service in the president's honour will be performed at the Assumption and Ascension of Virgin Mary Cathedral, the main temple of Ukrainian Roman Catholics. Walesa and local authorities will discuss border regional cooperation with Polish provinces.

The president will return to Warsaw from Lvov late in the evening.

National Affairs

Commission Investigates Zaporozhye Nuclear Accident

LD2505151393 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1429 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Kiev, 24 May UKRINFORM—The information center of the Zaporozhye nuclear power plant has reported that a commission has been set up to investigate the causes of the accident that occurred at the fifth power unit of the plant, which was undergoing regular maintenance. Two workers were injured as a result of the accident. The commission started work immediately after the accident took place.

The chief of the operations directorate of the State Committee for Atomic Power Engineering, the chief of the Zaporozhye oblast executive committee fire safety directorate, the chief engineer of the Zaporozhye plant, the deputy director for safety issues at the plant, the chairman of the plant's trade union committee, the head of the plant's labor protection department, and other officials were included on the commission.

The preliminary conclusion of the commission based on the results of questioning the personnel and inspecting the scene of the accident consists in the fact that the accident was caused by an error by repair workers who started working on a pressurized section of the pipeline. The error was caused by a breach of safety rules in carrying out work without having written authorization and without the permission of duty personnel on the shift. One of those who was injured died at the scene, while the other person injured is in a specialized medical

department in the town of Energodar. The assessment of his condition is moderately optimistic.

Power units 1, 2, 3, and 4 have been put on regulated load. The routine preventative maintenance work on power unit 5 continues. The radiation situation on the industrial site and in the adjacent region is unchanged. The investigation continues.

Repair Workers' 'Negligence' Blamed for Explosion

PM2505095793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Valeriy Yakov report: "Most Vulnerable AES Area is Personnel. This Is Confirmed Yet Again at Zaporozhye"]

[Text] As has already been reported, at 1600 on 21 May during scheduled repair work at the shutdown Zaporozhye AES [nuclear electric power station] No. 5 unit, hydrogen leaked from a pipeline and there was an explosion injuring two people—one of whom died, the other has been hospitalized with burns of varying degrees. There was no discharge of radioactive material into the atmosphere.

Specialists from the Russian State Committee for the Supervision of Nuclear and Radiation Safety whom we contacted were quick to reassure us, stating that their Ukrainian colleagues had indeed not been playing down the danger of the accident. It had been caused exclusively through negligence on the part of the personnel and was no reflection on the safety of nuclear reactors. Power unit No. 5 had been shut down for scheduled work and its generator had been cooled with hydrogen—as prescribed by the technology. But, in breach of all the regulations, repair workers who did not have the proper clearance were allowed access. Quite simply, they "mixed up" the valves on the pipes, which led to the hydrogen leak and then the explosion. The fire had already been put out by the time the fire services arrived. And the reactor, which was some distance away from the explosion, was not affected at all.

To my question about what would have happened to the reactor if more hydrogen had leaked out and the explosion had been bigger, the specialists said: Nothing to worry about. First, there was not very much hydrogen in the generator—it would not have been enough to blow up the machine room. Second, the reactor is located to one side and is protected by special structures. The specialists' arguments and tone of reassurance were almost convincing, but the worries persist about personnel who could breach the established regulations for the umpteenth time. All the more so since the sad experience of the numerous accidents at our various AES's committed not only by repair workers, and since instructions are violated not only in the areas around reactors but even right next to them. As a result, illogical and unpredictable accidents can occur on which, regrettably, too much could depend.

This time the incident at the Zaporzhye AES did not "register" on the corresponding IAEA nuclear incident scale. It came and went. As laid down, a commission is at work clarifying the details and drawing up organizational conclusions, given that a man was killed. Reports on the accident were barely noticeable in the press. Far more coverage was given to the Greenpeace members who chained themselves to the doors of the nuclear department. The militia unchained the Greenpeace members, and proceedings have already been instituted against them. These began on the eve of the Zaporzhye accident.

President Specifies Ways To Combat Drug Trade

AU2505145093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 22 May 93 p 10

["Ukrainian Presidential Directive on Measures for Intensifying the Struggle Against the Spread of Narcotic Substances in Ukraine" issued in Kiev on 13 May]

[Text] In order to create the organizational, material, and technological conditions for joining efforts and improving the coordination of the activity of state organs in the sphere of combating the spread of narcotic substances in Ukraine,

1. Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers must do as follows:

—to approve, by 1 September 1993, the Comprehensive Program for Combating the Spread of Narcotic Substances in Ukraine for 1993-1995, as well as purpose-oriented programs for preventing drug addiction among young people and for improving the efficiency of treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts.

—to resolve, by 1 July 1993, the question of providing special subdivisions that are in charge of combating the illegal circulation of narcotic substances, with facilities for strengthening their material and technological foundation proceeding from orders made by Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ukraine's Security Service, and Ukraine's State Customs Committee;

—to analyze, by 1 June 1993, the national legislation for its conformity with Ukraine's international obligations and UN recommendations on questions of control over the spread of narcotic substances and, if necessary, to submit proposals on altering and supplementing the legislation for the consideration of Ukraine's Supreme Council;

—to take measures for preparing and concluding interstate agreements on cooperation with foreign states in the aforementioned sphere;

—to resolve questions of Ukraine's participation in the work of the UN Commission for Narcotic Substances in accordance with established procedures;

2. Ukraine's Ministry of Health must check, by 1 July 1993, the fulfillment of the rules for storing, accounting

for, realizing, and writing off narcotic preparations in medical institutions and eliminate the shortcomings that are revealed.

3. Ukraine's State Committee for Questions of Science and Technologies must organize, in 1993, on a competition basis, research work on questions of combating drug addiction in Ukraine and on developing efficient methods for detecting narcotic substances. Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers must provide the necessary capital for this.

4. Ukraine's State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company must study the possibility of introducing a corresponding rubric into the programs of the television and radio broadcasting channel "Law."

5. Local state administrations must take urgent measures to intensify the struggle against the spread of narcotic substances in the provinces.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, president of Ukraine
[Dated] Kiev, 13 May 1993

Belarus

President in 'Conflict' With Foreign Ministry, Premier

MK2505120093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 93 p 3

[Igor Sinyakevich report published under "Belarus" rubric: "Shushkevich Crosses Swords With Foreign Affairs Ministry. Conflict Between Speaker and Minister Taken to International Level"]

[Text] Stanislav Shushkevich's statement at a 12 May press conference that certain diplomatic officials, without consulting him, declared that the time frame for a U.S.-proposed visit by a top-level Belarusian delegation to the United States was unacceptable has produced unexpected consequences. On 18 May the Foreign Ministry responded to it with an official statement for the press, denying Shushkevich's remarks: "The information about the actions of the republic's diplomatic services provided in the publication does not correspond to reality, and this has been officially confirmed by the U.S. side in Washington at a corresponding level."

In his turn, Stanislav Shushkevich, in an interview with ZVEZDA, described the Foreign Ministry's statement as false. According to the parliament speaker, the U.S. ambassador to Belarus confirmed that the information was true. According to the head of state, the incident was the foreign minister's responsibility. Shushkevich said that from that moment on he would talk with the head of the Foreign Affairs Ministry only in the presence of witnesses.

The conflict between Stanislav Shushkevich and Petr Kravchenko has been unfolding since early April, when the head of the republic harshly criticized the performance of the foreign department. Prior to that the impression was that these two politicians held close views, in particular on matters of Belarus' geopolitical orientation and its neutrality. The seemingly groundless discord and the subsequent international incident, however, suggest that Kravchenko has never been an honest supporter of Shushkevich. It could be assumed that the foreign minister has been playing the role of a "Trojan horse" in the republican leader's entourage, being in fact Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich's man. After all, without carte blanche from the premier, the head of the Foreign Ministry would hardly have decided to indulge in manipulation over such a serious matter as the time frame for a top-level visit to the United States. This version is also corroborated by the many instances in which Shushkevich has violated diplomatic protocol in the course of his foreign trips. The head of state, who has entered big-time politics straight from a professor's chair, is naturally not very sophisticated about the nuances of diplomacy, while the Foreign Ministry cannot, or, which is more probable, does not, want to instruct the republic's leader, thus often placing him in an embarrassing situation.

Nuclear Materials Reportedly Smuggled to Middle East

MK2105084093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 21, 23 May 93 (signed to press 18 May) p A5

[Larisa Sayenko report under the "Smuggling" rubric: "Nuclear Rivers—Middle East Riverbanks"]

[Excerpts] Vasiliy Sholodonov, general prosecutor of the Republic of Belarus, has sent a memo to Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich urging customs controls on the Western border to be toughened.

This was prompted by an investigation conducted by the prosecutor's office into the case of smuggled uranium from the Chepetsk Mechanical Plant in Udmurtia, which produces uranium for nuclear reactors. The smuggled consignment of uranium was seized at the Brest checkpoint. Mikhail Gordyko, senior investigator at the general prosecutor's office, found out during the initial investigation that there was an entire international syndicate comprising Russia, Belarus, the Baltic states, and Poland, which handles transshipments of uranium-238 in metallic form. One identified group alone stole nearly 100 kg of this raw material from the plant. The flow of smuggled radioactive materials and components required for the creation of nuclear weapons, such as hafnium and zirconium, has visibly increased recently. The customs' technical capabilities do not allow them to close the border for these goods. Belarus is not the only state whose strategic interests are affected by the smuggling.

The German Embassy made known in a verbal note that Europe is being inundated with hazardous radioactive materials that often pose a safety risk due to improper handling. [passage omitted]

Klaus Toepfer, German minister for environment, nature conservation, and security of nuclear reactors, said in the above note that "the radioactive materials stolen and smuggled into Germany and other West European countries cannot be profitably sold, contrary to what the mass media often report nowadays." [passage omitted]

This is not quite so. Germany, and particularly Poland, are the transshipment points for nuclear parts transported to the Middle East. One kilogram of uranium costs approximately $250,000 on the "black market." The price is undoubtedly set by the market and proves that these goods are in demand. Mikhail Gordyko reckons that the leak of strategically important raw materials is made worse by the connivance of the Russian special services. The illegal route reflects the political ambitions of certain influential forces interested in continuing tensions in the Middle East. Small wonder that it is the Israeli intelligence service Mosad that appears concerned most over the widening flow of nuclear smuggling.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Electoral Law

WS2505135893 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 25 May 93

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Rudkovskiy from the Supreme Soviet in Minsk]

[Text] [Rudkovskiy] Today's session began in a business-like atmosphere. Without delay, people's deputies resumed the discussion of the new draft constitution. Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich informed the deputies that 38 constitutional articles had been adopted, some of the articles had been partially discussed, while 14 had been sent for completion. Some 87 articles are yet to be discussed. All in all, the draft is composed of 153 articles. Thus, our new constitution is not being born easily. This is only natural, because it is supposed to reflect all the aspects of our complicated life and stand guard over the political, social, and economic rights of Belarusian citizens. Today, Section Three of the draft has been under discussion. It deals with all the nuances of the electoral system and with referendums. I want to place emphasis on Article 70 stipulating that public associations, working staffs, and separate citizens have a right to submit candidates for the elections. Article 71 deals with financing elections by the state. The legislature must adopt a law capable of controlling the elections in order to avoid juggling and forgery. In the process of discussion, the deputies referred to their own experience. However, the officials' way to the legislature was different than that of the people's leaders. How can a common approach be worked out? The discussion is continuing.

I am inviting People's Deputy Viktor Ganchar to comment on the developments.

[Ganchar] With regard to the electoral law, I must say that the results of elections have a direct effect on people's lives and on a solution to the main aspects of political issues. There have been heated debates on this issue today, during the discussion of different articles of the constitution. Diametrically opposing views have been expressed. Some deputies advocated the idea that the constitution should determine only the norms of financing the electoral campaign by the state. Others supported the use of other sources of financing. In my view, taking into account the current level of political culture, the more precise the definitions, the fewer chances for various violations and falsifications.

[Rudkovskiy] Our next interview is with People's Deputy Aleksandr Lukashenko. What are you ideas regarding this issue?

[Lukashenko] I am an advocate of elections on the basis of the existing law. We do not have real parties today. The ones that exist are not strong, not to mention their ideology and programs. This is why I think that under the circumstances the candidates should be put forward by the people. I may sound conservative, but this is my belief, and I think that a lot of people in the Republic would support me. With regard to juggling, the more obstacles we toss up, the more sophisticated the methods of juggling will be. I do not think that we will be able to find a perfect solution to this problem. Who can count on seats in the future legislature? I think these are some 20 or 30 deputies. The constituency will sober up and will understand that what we need at the Supreme Soviet are reliable people able to keep their promises—not demagogues. This is why I believe that those who have not lost contact with their electors can count on seats in the new legislature.

Moldova

Snegur, Russian Ambassador Discuss Relations, Dniester

AU2405200593 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1735 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 24/5/1993—President Mircea Snegur received today Vladimir Plechko, the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Moldova, states a communique from the press service of the president. The Russian ambassador handed to President Snegur a message from Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation. During the meeting, they discussed relations between those two states and progress in the eastern regions of the Republic of Moldova.

Snegur Comments on State of Economy

PM2505120993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 Single Edition p 6

[Unattributed report from "Moldova Between War and Peace" feature: "President M. Snegur: Ties Must Be Restored"]

[Text] Moldovan President M. Snegur addressed the Academy of Economic Knowledge recently and assessed the situation quite harshly: "The paradox is that in our republic, as in other republics of the former USSR, a lot has been said and is being said about ways and means of moving to a market economy without a clear definition of the concept itself. Without a correct understanding of our aims... we run the risk of implementing reforms and leading society nowhere. The first results of the transition to a market economy have proved far worse than expected. We were drawn into the so-called 'shock' model, which not only failed to halt the decline in production but even intensified it. We did not succeed in overcoming the trend toward the tension of the socio-economic situation against the overall background of the headlong increase in prices and inflation, the impoverishment of the population, and the increase in the number of unemployed. That is payment for the lack of a firm national concept of the transition to a market economy.

"Throughout these years we have consulted with experts from foreign economic and financial institutions and

begun to use foreign experience, but the situation not only did not improve but, on the contrary, became even more complex, threatening economic collapse and social eruption. We are encountering the further destruction of production and scientific and technical foundations created through the efforts of an entire generation but no new foundations has been laid for construction. Foreign investors are in no hurry to invest capital. Barter prevails in foreign economic relations.

"The decisions which are being taken in many cases belatedly often remain only on paper. There can be only one conclusion: If the reforms initiated with a view to restoring the economy and its restructuring on the basis of market relations have failed to produce the expected results and have been unable to attract the interests of the main economic subjects, then either the reforms were unrealistic and unreasoned from the outset or they were implemented in an unprofessional manner. The restoration of our traditional ties with our partners from the former USSR and the conservation of sales markets for output are necessary, proceeding from objective reality (Moldova's deliveries to those countries comprise 93 percent of the total volumes of exports and deliveries from those countries comprise 87 percent of our imports). But that in no way means that we must remain in a state of expectation without making use of the potential of the Black Sea Basin and of effective and mutually advantageous cooperation with Romania, which has become our first partner outside the CIS."

The LOGOS PRESS economic news agency, commenting on M. Snegur's speech, emphasizes the government's activity, stressing that it has no time for conceptual matters, that there is not only no one to resolve them but no one to raise them. As before tested, customary administrative levers are used and there are simply no traffic regulations and the economy is rushing along unmade roads.

Official Surmises Russian Troop Withdrawal in 1994

LD2505175493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] By the middle of next year the 14th Russian Army could be withdrawn from the territory of Moldova, the First Deputy Foreign Minister Ion Cebuk announced in an interview today with the newspaper GRAZHDANSKIY MIR. He pointed out that for this reason it is necessary to give the Dniester region the corresponding status, so as to guarantee the safety of the population of the left bank of the Dniester.

Moldova is prepared to help officers and ordinary soldiers organize the army's redeployment, Cebuk said. It has been suggested that some of the technical equipment belonging to the 14th Army be auctioned, according to him, and that the money be spent on building housing for the servicemen.

Lucinschi Denies Nation's Military Intentions

PM2505134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 Single Edition p 6

[Statement by parliament chairman P. Lucinschi from "Moldova Between War and Peace" feature: "Chisinau Will Never Again Undertake Military Actions"]

[Text] Unfortunately, nothing has changed for a long time in the Dniester region. There are things happening throughout the world and only there is nothing happening. There have been meetings, many meetings, with the Dniester region leaders and we are prepared to meet on a broader basis. If there is no decision on the status of this territory—there are many options—we must seize and use positive advances. Right now Chisinau is making proposals, we are trying to elaborate common principles for the solution of the conflict, but everything is coming unstuck because of Tiraspol. The negotiations process, it is already clear, will be long and hard, and, incidentally, I see nothing terrible in that.

We have asked the Tiraspol leaders the most fundamental question: Will we develop in a single state or in different states? Eventually we concluded it would be in a single state. But, they say, a state built on different principles—federative or confederative. All right, let us say a confederative state, like Switzerland, or a federation like Russia or Mexico. But are there border guards or customs houses in the middle of those countries? There is simply some kind of consensus.

Ultimately the form of the state structure is a secondary problem. Let us tell people we live in a single state and we shall give them the hope that there is understanding at a high level and then, as the Chinese say, you can argue for 10,000 years about what status to choose. But economic questions—the restoration of a single economic complex—can and must be resolved right now. We have had enough of mocking people and frightening them with a strange future, of saying that Moldova is preparing for a new attack. Those are outright lies. Moldova will never again undertake military actions and there is a statement by the parliament presidium on the subject.

Of course, there have been many inconveniences for the Russian-speaking population but they must adapt and not rush into a fight.

The Gagauz. Unfortunately, here there is a direct link with the Dniester Region. I went to Komrat and gathered the deputies together. There are areas of disagreement. But people think differently from politicians. They are tired of it all. The Moldovan parliament is now prepared to make important decisions regarding local self management and to give large rights to ensure that a range of entrenched problems are resolved. Conflicts in the south have always arisen and an opportunity has now appeared for extinguishing them. The negotiations process is successfully under way and a large parliamentary commission has been created in conjunction with the gagauz.

Now about Russia. The instability there is having an effect here every day. The Dniester region has always counted on that part of Russia which supports this region. A completely false idea has formed in Russia that in the Dniester region there is an active process of encroachment on the Russians. But they should proceed from a different principle—the principle of friendly relations with the independent state of Moldova.

Dniester Supreme Soviet Chairman Notes 'Concession'

PM2505124993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 Single Edition p 6

[Report by Lyudmila Feliksova from "Moldova Between War and Peace" feature: "Hand Has Been Held Out"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] I asked G. Marakutsu, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the unrecognized Dniester Republic, to describe the present situation.

And here is what he said:

"It is impossible to live without hope and I want to believe that the changes which are taking place are for the better. It is gratifying that Moldova, as its present leadership states, at any rate, will not go to war against the Dniester Region. Our Supreme Soviet may be legal or illegal, but it has stated that we will never begin and never intend to began a conflict from here, from this land.

"We suggest to Moldova a common demilitarized zone and the rencunciation of expenditure on the army—it is a big hole in the budget, tens of billions of rubles, and they would be better spent on social needs. They agree they will not fight with us, but why then does Moldova need an army?! For such a small republic it is enough to have internal troops to maintain order. We are prepared to embark on complete disarmament, but whether Moldova is prepared for such a step is so far unclear.

"A second element. Political differences with Chisinau can probably not be resolved as rapidly as one would like, they will have to be persistently disentangled over a long period. Especially as the armed conflict has cast us even further from each other than before. But let the talks proceed gradually. We do not intend to split Moldova if it embarks on a principle for building a state in which the Dniester region would have its own sufficiently autonomous status. It is not true that we are taking no steps to meet it halfway. We are prepared for such steps, although after the events in Bendery it is very difficult to persuade the people of the need for compromises. Nonetheless at the Supreme Soviet we decided to retain a single state. Is that not a substantial concession? And I should like Chisinau not to let slip this chance. But as before there is a failure to understand the real situation and a defense only of its own positions. You only have to take the draft Constitution which Moldova has submitted for discussion. We are not discussing it. Why, if our proposals are not even accepted as an option."

Gagauz Deputies Walk Out of Parliament Session

LD2505183393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1742 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Angeli]

[Text] Chisinau, 25 May—The situation was tense at this evening's sitting of the Moldovan Parliament. Protesting against changes in the agenda of the session which was to have examined the draft law "On a special legal status of the territory populated by the Gagauz people," the deputies representing 153,000 Gagauzes at Moldova's supreme legislative body left the conference hall.

This was caused by the fact that under pressure from the ultra- patriots who favor Moldova's unification with Romania, the Moldovan top leaders and people's envoys in fact refused to examine the Gagauz problem at the session. Observers note that during the preparation of the draft, the Gagauz deputies showed great flexibility in order to preserve Moldova's territorial integrity.

Kazakhstan

Indian Prime Minister Visits, Signs Cooperation Pacts

LD2605104393 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Yesterday afternoon Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao arrived on an official visit from Tashkent to Almaty by a special flight. At the capital's airport, decorated with the state flags of India and Kazakhstan and welcoming banners, he was met by President Nursultan Nazarbayev at the steps to the plane. A unit of the republican Guard of Honor was formed up on the airfield in honor of the esteemed guest. The national anthems of India and Kazakhstan were played. The president and the prime minister walked around the unit of the Guard of Honor. After a ceremonial march of the Guard of Honor the guests escorted by a cortege of motorcyclists left in the direction of a residence assigned for them.

The same day, Nursultan Nazarbayev had a meeting with Narasimha Rao at his residence. During a private meeting they discussed the condition and prospects for developing relations between Kazakhstan and India as well as topical international issues that are of mutual interest. Following that, talks were held between the official delegations headed by Nursultan Nazarbayev and Narasimha Rao. The president of Kazakhstan supported the proposal of the Indian Government head on setting up a special commission that will tackle specific issues of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. Narasimha Rao in his turn, said that his government has made a decision to grant a credit of $10 million to Kazakhstan that should be spent on setting up joint ventures and on purchasing Indian goods.

During the talks, Foreign Ministers Tuletay Suleymenov and Salman Khurshid signed an agreement between the governments of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of India on cooperation in the sphere of science, technology, and a protocol on cooperation between the foreign economic departments of both states.

Then Narasimha Rao and Nursultan Nazarbayev held a news conference for representatives of Kazakhstan and foreign mass media, and answered their numerous questions. On behalf of the leader of Kazakhstan a reception was given in honor of the official Indian delegation in the evening.

Rao on Economic, Technical Cooperation

BK2605041893 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] The prime minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, has expressed India's desire to be an active partner in Kazakhstan's economic and technical revolution. He was speaking at a banquet hosted in his honor by the Kazakhstan President, Mr. Nazarbayev, at Almaty last night. Mr. Narasimha Rao offered India's expertise in the fields of agriculture and industry to strengthen cooperation between the two countries. He said New Delhi looks forward to collaboration with Kazakhstan in hydrocarbons, mineral resources, agriculture, telecommunications and pharmaceuticals to create a base for expanding trade. He said India will encourage its enterprises to share skills and capabilities with Kazakhstan through setting up joint ventures. The prime minister said Kazakhstan and India being multi-ethnic countries have commitment to equal rights for all, free from discrimination on religious matters. He said secularism is a sheet anchor of unity and stability. Mr. Rao said India and Kazakhstan share a common purpose on fighting fundamentalists and disruptive forces.

In his welcome speech, President Nazarbayev said his country has high hopes on large-scale cooperation with India. His talks with Mr. Narasimha Rao have laid a firm and sound basis for economic and industrial cooperation. He said his country is moving to a market economy and that is where India can play an important role to make it less dependent on others.

Our correspondent Surendra Kumar covering the prime minister's visit reports that both the leaders held extensive talks on regional issues and bilateral matters. The prime minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, during his talks also announced another $10 million credit to Kazakhstan to promote trade and to set up joint ventures. The credit is in addition to the $10 million offered in September last year.

Rao, Nazarbayev News Conference

BK2505160193 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] India and Kazakhstan have called for joint efforts in promoting peace and stability in Asia and the world at large. Addressing a joint press conference with Kazakhstan president, Mr. Nazarbayev, in Almaty this evening, Mr. Narasimha Rao said that religious extremism was not conducive to stability in the region and for economic development. He said that in the context of the ongoing economic reforms in both the countries, commitment to secular principles—equality among ethnic groups—only will lead to sustained progress.

Referring to bilateral talks and the signing of the two agreements, the prime minister offered India's assistance in more areas including biotechnology, agriculture, hydrocarbon and space technology. He pointed out that India's joint venture projects in areas like these will benefit both the countries.

President Nazarbayev suggested an Asian security setup similar to that of Europe. He invited foreign investment in the manufacturing sector and said India can take part in this venture. Earlier, delegation-level talks were held and the prime minister headed the Indian side; the

Kazakhstan president led his side. The Kazakhstan president is hosting a banquet in honor of the visiting Indian prime minister tonight.

The two countries signed two agreements on cooperation in science and technology and political, economic, and cultural fields in Almaty. The minister of state for external affairs, Mr. Salman Khurshid, signed on behalf of India and the Kazakh foreign minister, Mr. Tuleutay Suleymenov, on behalf of his country. Under the science and technology agreement, the two sides will promote development of scientific and technological cooperation in areas of mutual interest. The two countries will promote exchange of scientists, researchers, and scholars. Under the other agreement, it was decided to set up experts working group to cooperate in areas including training of personnel, ecology and information. A number of other agreements are to be signed during the forthcoming session of the Indo-Kazakh joint commission to be held in Delhi in July this year.

Foreign Minister, Russian Envoy Discuss Relations

LD2405165893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1619 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Almaty May 24 TASS—The development of Kazakh-Russian relations can be facilitated by forging regular contacts and consultations along the two countries' Foreign Ministries, concluded Kazakh Foreign Minister Tuleutay Suleymenov and Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to Kazakhstan Boris Krasnikov, who was received in the Kazakh Foreign Ministry at his request today.

During the talk, the two discussed urgent issues of bilateral partnership. They voiced mutual interest in further deepening multi-faceted ties in the light of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation signed last year.

Vice President, British Ambassador Discuss Cooperation

LD2105175693 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1200 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Vice President Yerik Asanbayev received Brian James Fall, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Great Britain, at the latter's request on 20 May.

They discussed the prospects for increasing bilateral cooperation and noted that contacts between Kazakhstan and Great Britain in the sphere of trade and economics are aquiring ever greater significance as regards deepening mutual understanding and cooperation between our states.

The ambassador was briefed on the results of the recent meeting of CIS heads of state in Moscow and the course of privatization in the republic.

It was also stressed that the forthcoming visit to Kazakhstan by Princess Anne will undoubtedly serve to enhance relations between Kazakhstan and Britain.

Delegation Returns From Interparliamentary Assembly

LD2505130993 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0100 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Last night a parliamentary delegation of Kazakhstan headed by Serikbolsyn Abdildin, chairman of the Supreme Assembly, returned from St. Petersburg. It participated in the work of the third session of the interparliamentary assembly of the Commonwealth states.

Serikbolsyn Abdildin gave an interview to newsmen after disembarking from the aircraft. Talking about the results of the session, he said that 21 issues were discussed in St. Petersburg, particularly problems of personnel and armed forces organization and the customs service. The results of the work of the assembly were described as satisfactory by the head of parliament.

Tajikistan

Defense Minister Says Russian Border Troops 'Necessary'

LD2505164693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1550 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Tajik Defence Minister Major-General Aleksandr Shishlyannikov told ITAR-TASS today's Tajik-Russian agreement on status of the Russian border troops stationed on Tajik territory "was necessary for both sides".

The document establishes the troops' status "to give Russia a free hand and put on the legal basis the solution to all aspects of Russian military aid to Tajikistan", said the minister. Besides, the agreement ensures reliable political and social guarantees to Russian military serving in the republic.

The general expressed hope the bilateral agreement will boost the introduction into the republic of peace-making units from other states-participants in the treaty on collective security in correspondence to the Minsk CIS summit.

Shishlyannikov described the Tajik military-political situation as "complicated but quite controllable. Two attempts of the opposition armed units to launch an offensive have been prevented. This proves Tajikistan is strong enough to protect its sovereignly and state borders".

Increasing Numbers of 'Insurgents' Surrender

LD2405135093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1316 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe May 24 TASS—Steadily increasing numbers of Tajik insurgents are beginning to realise the futility of further resistance. Thirty men from a detachment subordinated to Field Commander Rizvon have voluntarily laid down arms in Garm district of Tajikistan a few days ago. Rizvon, together with a handful of thirty loyal followers, is surrounded by government forces in Komarou gorge, the Pamir foothills. He is making futile attempts to flee to a neighbouring country.

ITAR-TASS learned from confidential sources here today that talks between Tajik Government officials and opposition commanders began on Sunday in Tavildarin district of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous District. As earlier reported, some insurgent militants had fled to the territory of this autonomous district after their defeat last December and continued to resist government troops there.

The results of the negotiations are still unknown. According to some sources, the purpose of the dialogue is to persuade a 300-man opposition group to lay down arms and surrender to the authorities. Most field commanders of the Tavildarin group are inclined to agree. However, fearing summary justice, they are demanding from the government additional guarantees of their personal safety and legal examination of their cases.

Five Infiltrators Killed on Afghan Border

LD2405144493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1001 GMT 24 May 93

[By TIA "KHOVAR" correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe, 24 May—Russian border guards protecting one of the sectors of the Moscow Border Detachment stopped another violation of the Tajik-Afghan border on Sunday [23 May] evening. The Tajik Information Agency "KHOVAR" reported today that a 12-man armed group made up of irregulars from a Tajik antigovernment group and Afghan Mojahedin who have undergone training at one of the special camps in Kunduz province, intended to infiltrate Tajikistan. During an armed clash, five of the infiltrators were killed, the remainder returning to Afghanistan.

There were no casualties among the Russian border guards.

Armenia

Government Signs Tripartite Initiative on Karabakh

NC2605115493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1045 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Yerevan, May 26 (SNARK)—Today the Armenian Foreign Department has undertaken the press-conference to announce that Armenia has already signed the tripartite initiatives to regulate the Karabakh conflict. The signed plan has already handed in to the Russian and the USA ambassadors.

20,000 Reportedly Protest Turkish Role as Negotiator

NC2505170093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1535 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Yerevan, 25 May (SNARK)—While Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan after his return from Moscow where he met May 25 morning Russian President Boris Yeltsin at Kremlin came to Armenian Parliament where he met behind close doors the mps' [members of parliament] corps, a meeting organized by opposition Dashnaktsutyun party has begun at the Freedom Square in Yerevan. The people at the square were holding slogans which read the following: "No—to any Turkish initiative", "Turkey has no right to be a negotiator at the Karabakh conflict settlement." The people at the meeting accepted a resolution that Armenia is not to sign the new plan on the Karabakh conflict settlement. At the same place, at the Freedom (Azatutyun) Square, the Turkish national flag was burnt, the flag, according to an announcement during the meeting, was captured by Karabakh Defense Army in the Kelbadzharskiy Rayon Azerbaijan. Relating the mediating mission of Turkey out of the speakers spoke out an idea that there is needed a mediator to improve relations among the two countries: Armenia and Turkey. The demonstrators, about 20 thousand, in organized row, signing patriotic songs, went to Armenian Parliament, where were Armenian President and MPS. For some minutes the songs were changed to whistle and cries, while the demonstrators were passing along the USA Embassy. By 7 p.m. local time the meeting is going on.

Opposition Deputies Send Message of Support to Milosevic

LD2505125393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1119 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan May 25 TASS—38 Armenian opposition legislators, including four members of the parliamentary presidium, sent a message of solidarity to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic saying that the people of Serbia and Montenegro became a "stronghold of Orthodox Slavic culture on the way of Osman and Catholic expansion".

They also accused Western powers of "strategic plans of total dominance in Eastern Europe and neighbouring subregions" and added that only Orthodoxy and Islamic fundamentalism can secure peace in the Balkans.

"Now that new realities emerge, that Atlantic Alliance is incapable of solving global political problems, it is the Orthodoxy and Islamic fundamentalism with their genuine spirituality and popularship which can avert wars and disturbances in the Balkan and Middle East regions", the legislators said.

They claimed that the "regional tint" of the current war in the Balkans does not allow "to fully apprehend the plot against Christian and Muslim peoples of former Yugoslavia".

From the very beginning of combat activities in former Yugoslavia Armenian sympathies were unconditionally with the people of Serbia and Montenegro, the legislators said, adding that the stand was shared by many politicians, parties and public movements, mass media and the Armenian diaspora. Many lawmakers in countries with Armenian diaspora supported the position, according to the message.

The legislators said that Armenian public figures are using every possibility and their ties in Russia, Europe and the Middle East to suport the struggle of Serbia and Montenegro.

Opposition Party Urges Stronger Ties With Russia

LD2505094493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0825 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan May 25 TASS—The Dashnaktsutyun Party, the highest body of the opposition in Armenia, is "attaching considerable importance to asserting and strengthening Russo- Armenian military, economic and other ties," leaders of the party declared upon completion of the third regional session of the party. A communique, adopted by the party, outlines the position of the Dashnaktsutyun Party on its relations with Russia, apart from other major problems of Armenian home and foreign policy.

The party believes that "Russia remains the most influential military and political force in our region," and that "Armenia remains in the sphere of vitally important interests of the Russian Federation."

"The main and necessary condition of asserting relations with the Russian Federation should be the ensuring of Armenia's status as a juridically equal political partner," the communique said.

Foreign Minister Departs for Greece 24 May

LD2405093193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0853 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan May 24—Armenian Foreign Minister Vagan Papazyan left for Greece today, where he will hold negotiations with Greek foreign policy leaders and sign a number of bilateral documents, the Armenian Foreign Ministry press centre said.

Iranian Delegation Briefs Vice President on Talks

NC2505193293 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Armenian Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan received an Iranian delegation including Mustafa Belabani, head of the International Department at the Iranian Economy and Finance Ministry; Bahram Qasemi, the head of the CIS and Caucasus Department at the Iranian Foreign Ministry; Ahmad Sobhani, the Iranian charge d'Affaires in Armenia; and his adviser (Salah Bler).

Grigor Arakelyan, head of the Iranian Department at the Armenian Foreign Ministry, also attended.

Qasemi spoke about the delegation's week of contacts in Armenia and said its visit confirms that Iran takes its relations with Armenia seriously. He said both sides are willing to develop bilateral relations. He noted that economic ties remain unsatisfactory, but the process has started. The Iranian side wants to speed up the process; such meetings and talks provide the opportunity to clarify and remove obstacles.

He stressed that there are no political impediments to developing multisided ties between Iran and Armenia and added that during the stay in Armenia, the Iranian delegation also examined regional political issues of interest to both sides, including the tripartite initiative on the solution of the Karabakh problem.

Belabani provided detailed information on the talks and contacts in Armenia. On developing trade and economic ties with CIS countries, he stressed the importance of communications routes, the construction of a permanent bridge over the Araks river, and the creation of a banking system. Noting that Armenia has undertaken considerable preparatory work to build the bridge over the Araks river and to lay a gas pipeline from Iran, Belabani said that soon, the Iranian side will present its own plans on these projects and on border trade between the two countries.

Arutyunyan said he was satisfied with the progress in bilateral trade and economic relations. He advanced some proposals and plans that might spur [word indistinct] mutually advantageous cooperation between the two friendly, neighboring countries.

Azerbaijan

Government Signs Tripartite Plan on Karabakh

NC2605091593 Baku TURAN in English 0820 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Baku May 26 (TURAN)—Today at the MIA [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of Azerbaijan at 12 o'clock on local time, the ambassadors of the USA, Turkey and Russia were handed "urgent measures schedule," signed by Azerbaijan side.

As it is known, this document represents the second variant of the USA, Turkey and Russian trilateral initiative, regulating Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict. It was presented to Armenia and Azerbaijan two weeks ago for examination and giving an answer.

Though this plan infringes interests of Azerbaijan to no small degree, Baku decided to sign this document, having for an object peaceful solving of this problem. Azerbaijan guidance expressed its hope, that this plan would be accepted by Armenian side too. As it is known, Armenia rejected the first variant of trilateral initiative.

The "urgent measures plan" provides for withdrawal of Armenian forces from Kelbadzhar region of Azerbaijan and placing CSCE observers there. Only after that Armenian-Azerbaijan consultations in Geneva will have to begin. The last point of this document provides for convening the CSCE Minsk conference of Nagorno-Karabakh in the middle of June.

Foreign Minister on Peace Proposals

LD2605113493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1005 GMT 26 May 93

[By AZERTAC correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman for TASS]

[Text] Baku, 26 May—The Russian, Turkish, and U.S. ambassadors to Azerbaijan today received the republic's official reply to the tripartite proposals for a settlement of the Armenian- Azerbaijani conflict. The reply was handed over by Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov.

Having positively assessed the Russo-Turkish-U.S. initiative on ways of breaking the deadlock in talks on Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan's foreign minister at the same time, indicated that there was a certain inconsistency between a number of points in the tripartite plan and the well-known resolution of the UN Security Council. However, he stressed, Azerbaijan has accepted the mediation proposals, thereby demonstrating its wish to put an end to this complex problem.

According to the minister, all disputed issues can be resolved. He hopes that they will be discussed in Geneva, where all interested parties are scheduled to meet on 6 June to prepare the next round of talks within the framework of the CSCE's Minsk group.

The diplomats were informed that Azerbaijan continues to observe the unilateral cease-fire along the entire front line that it announced two days ago. At the same time Tofik Gasymov accused the Armenian side of subjecting Azerbaijani Army positions in the republic's Fizulinskiy rayon to intensive rocket and artillery fire last night. Describing this as a provocation intended to trigger retaliatory fire, he said that the Azerbaijani side will stick firmly to the moratorium that it has proclaimed.

Nagorno-Karabakh Rejects Plan

LD2605121393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 26 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Nagorno-Karabakh will not sign the plan for a settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict tabled by Russia, the United States, and Turkey. This was announced by Robert Kocharyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh State Defense Committee. He said Stepanakert's negative reply to the trilateral initiative had been presented to the U.S. and Russian embassies in Yerevan.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's refusal to accept the settlement plan is connected with the fact that the initiative does not ensure the safety of the civilian population of Nagorno-Karabakh, Robert Kocharyan said. He also expressed opposition to the mediation of Turkey in settling the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry Communique on Cease-Fire

NC2505195893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 25 May 93

["Text" of Defense Ministry communique on the cessation of military operations; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] With the approach of the 75th anniversary of the independence of the three republics in the Transcaucasus, to create favorable conditions to realize UN Security Council Resolution 822 dated 30 April 1993, and to sign and realize the urgent plan proposed by Russia, Turkey, and the United States, the Azerbaijani Ministry of Defense has ordered National Army units to unilaterally cease fire while the tripartite plan is established for the cessation of military operations in the disputed region, that is, from 0000 [as heard] on 24 May to 0100 on 29 May.

The objective of this measure reconfirms that Armenia's propaganda that Azerbaijani military units are waging intensive combat operations and preparing large-scale attacks are unfounded and based on ill will. The Armenian propaganda claims must be assessed as baseless information aiming to undermine the peace initiative launched by Russia, Turkey, and the United States. Considering all this, the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry hopes the Armenian side will refrain from any kind of propaganda and military and political provocation that may restart military operations and disrupt the peace talks.

Turkey To Supply 22,000 Tons of Diesel Oil to Nakhichevan

NC2605081193 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] According to President Suleyman Demirel's instructions, the Turkish International Transportation and Trade Company has begun to transport 22,000 tons of diesel oil to Nakhichevan, which will be in the form of a grant. The company has already transported 350 tons of diesel oil.

Speaking during his meeting with Emin Bayar, president of the Turkish International Transportation and Trade Company, Nakhichevan Supreme Assembly Chairman Geydar Aliyev asked his guest to convey his gratitude to Demirel for Turkey's aid to Nakhichevan, which is under blockade. Aliyev and Bayar also discussed the outlook for bilateral relations.

Supreme Court Opposes Clemency for Russian Servicemen

LD2505214793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Tair Kerimli, chairman of the Supreme Court of Azerbaijan, has spoken out against granting clemency to the five Russian servicemen sentenced to death for committing acts of terrorism on the territory of this republic, INTERFAX reports.

Kerimli underlined that the defendants themselves admit the fact that they were mercenaries who killed deliberately and not because they had to. At the same time, the chairman of the Supreme Court of Azerbaijan called the many appeals to Baku to show the Russian soldiers clemency inappropriate. According to him, they have been sentenced in accordance with Azeri law and the norms of international law.

Egyptian Parliamentary Delegation Arrives

NC2505122893 Baku TURAN in English 0821 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Baku, May 25 (TURAN)—On the eve the delegation of the Egyptian parliament under the leadership of the head of Foreign Political Commission Muhammad 'Abdallah arrived in Baku.

The same day the head of the Azerbaijan Parliament Isa Kamberov received the delegation.

During the meeting 'Abdallah delivered the Egyptian leadership best regards to Isa Kamberov, and pointed out, that the aim of the Egyptian deputies visit to

Azerbaijan is to establish friendly and mutually beneficial relations between the two countries.

In return, Isa Kamberov mentioned, that the strengthening of the economic and political links with Egypt meet the long-term interests of Azerbaijan.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet on the connection with foreign countries Yusuf Samed-Oglu and the head of the international department of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic Namik Akhundov took part in the meeting.

The same day the delegation of the Egyptian parliament met with the first vice-premier Vakhid Akhmedov. As the ministers cabinet press-service informs, the problem of the broadening of the economic cooperation between the two countries have been discussed at the meeting.

Elchibey Announces Cooperation Plans

LD2605085493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0833 GMT 26 May 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Elchin Sardarov]

[Text] Baku May 26 TASS—Plans for cooperation between Azerbaijan and Egypt in state development were announced on Tuesday [25 May] by President of Azerbaijan Abulfaz Elchibey and Egyptian parliamentarians who arrived in Baku. Azerbaijan's president believes there is much similarity in the historic development of the two countries. He spoke highly of the course of democratic transformations that was charted by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak notwithstanding difficulties. He said this experience can be used not only in Arab countries.

The wishes for the opening of Azerbaijan's mission in Cairo and of Egypt's mission in Baku were stated during the meeting. The sides expressed the wish for the establishment of close ties between the two states in the political, economic and cultural areas.

Head of the Egyptian parliamentary delegation Mohammed Abil al- Haag informed Abulfaz Elchibey of the attitude of the Egyptian leadership which welcomes the construction of a secular democratic society in Azerbaijan. He also conveyed to Azerbaijan's president a message from Husni Mubarak on the occasion of the republic's day observed in Azerbaijan on May 28.

Estonia

President Views Ties With Russia, Poland

AU2605085093 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 21 May 93 pp 1, 9

[Interview with President Lennart Meri by Piotr Semka; place and date not given: "Boldly But Wisely"]

[Text] [Semka] At the end of April, President Yeltsin signed a document on the Russian Federation's foreign policy. This document says: "Russia bears responsibility for the consolidation of equilibrium and security on the territory of the former USSR." This no longer applies to just the CIS, but also to Estonia as a sovereign state. What was your reaction to this document?

[Meri] The only possible reaction is negative, because this sentence suggests that Russia is reassuming a role typical of an imperial power. It sounds like a desire to return to a Europe divided into spheres of influence. The era of superpowers is over. It is a pity that the Russian leadership does not seem to understand that. There is a danger that Russia will not choose the path of harmony with Europe and will abandon the "Atlantic" option. This could endanger the whole of Europe and have fatal consequences for Russia itself. Speaking of Russia, we have in mind as it were an entire continent, divided into many nationalities. These include the Russian people, of course, who play a large role in the European cultural heritage. The Russians must rediscover their identity themselves. They must be able to define Russia's borders. I repeat, Russia must resolve this painful issue on its own. For example, Tatarstan is now formally a part of the Russian Federation. And yet Tatarstan possesses its own ancient culture and identity, and is an Islamic state. The opinion that Tatarstan is a part of Russia is an example of the Russian way of thinking on the subject of national identity. The Russians must themselves decide what is Russia and what is not, otherwise we are in danger of a new division of Europe.

[Semka] What is the situation with the withdrawal of Russian forces from Estonia?

[Meri] This is a constant subject of discussion. Unfortunately, not much progress has been made. The establishment of a final date for the withdrawal of the Russian forces is important for us, but this issue remains unresolved. There are 7,800 former Red Army soldiers in Estonia. There is a strong tendency for them to desert their units. However, our country faces a different danger. The personnel status of units remains at a relatively low level, but the quantity of these units and the infrastructure of military bases remain the same as before. This entire infrastructure could be reactivated at any moment. I hope this is only a theoretical possibility.

[Semka] The Estonian parliament has appointed retired U.S. Army Colonel Alexander Einseln, a veteran of Korea and Vietnam and a man of Estonian descent, to be commander in chief of the Estonian Army. Might Russia not consider that a hostile move? Does Estonia feel threatened?

[Meri] I do not think so. I am acquainted with Mr. Einseln, and have a lot of respect for his responsibility. We agreed that one of his first visits after assuming office should be to Moscow, to visit his counterparts there. I think this gesture of trust will be favorable both to Russia and Estonia. You asked if we feel threatened. I am aware of the relationship between Estonia and Russia, in terms of population and geographical size. If imperial forces prevail in Russia, more than just Estonia will be in danger. Any attempt to attack Estonia and launch a military invasion would represent an intention to make a similar move against Poland, Hungary, and other countries that are indirectly mentioned in the document in question (author's note: the document signed by Yeltsin also refers to the countries of Eastern Europe which "lie within Russia's historical sphere of interests").

[Semka] What are Estonia's chances of being accepted into the Council of Europe? Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has written to the Council's secretary, Mrs. Lalumiere, in protest against Estonia's admission because the Russian population in Estonia has not been given voting rights.

[Meri] I know of no country where foreigners are entitled to vote in parliamentary elections. These people do not possess Estonian citizenship, and most of them arrived in Estonia during the final decade of Soviet rule, people such as weapons industry employees or retired Soviet Army officers. I see no reason why they should vote if they do not have Estonian citizenship. No one is trying to expel them. Their human rights are being respected. For some reason, Minister Kozyrev's letter to the Council of Europe concerns only Estonia and Latvia, but not areas where a real war is being fought. Estonia does not have a situation that is typical of the Asian republics, where people are dying and there there are thousands of Russian refugees. So why is it we who are being attacked? Is it because we have shown that it is possible to build independence and that my small country is capable of living independently?

[Semka] What solution do you see to be the discrepancy between Russia's size and the aspirations of its western neighbors? Can one break the fatalism of history?

[Meri] That is an interesting question, but it leads us far back into the past. In West European tradition, there was a distinction between tsarist authority and church authority. In Byzantium, two authorities became one. After the fall of Constantinople, the traditions of Byzantium were adopted by the Muscovite state. Perhaps that is the reason why Russia has continued the tradition of regarding itself as a divine messenger and the only rightful empire, in order to bring happiness and prosperity to its neighbors. In today's times, a return to this kind of attitude could be very dangerous.

[Semka] What is the future of Polish-Estonian relations? In what way can we help each other?

[Meri] Polish-Estonian relations enjoy a long tradition. Not many people realize that Polish Jesuits founded the college in Tartu, where plays were staged in the Estonian language for the first time. The college in Tartu led to the foundation in 1632 of a university at which many Poles studied, including Josef Pilsudski. Today, our geopolitical situation provides an answer to the question of mutual cooperation. We share the Baltic coast, and in a similar way we act as a bridgehead between East and West. Together we are also facing the challenge of economically influencing Russia. Russian is a huge market, and the challenge involves including it in the European economic system.

The closer Poland and Estonia cooperate in security matters, the stronger the likelihood that the Baltic will become an area of stability. There is a lot that joins us.

Meri Discusses Troop Withdrawal With Russian Official

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[Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri met Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin today. Present at the meeting were Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Trofimov, Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste, and Minister Juri Luik. They discussed Russian troop withdrawal from Estonia, seen as the key political issue in the relations between the Republic of Estonia and the Russian Federation. The parties valued the statement by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, made on 19 May in Vilnius in this respect, in a positive light.

Meri presented to Adamishin his own timetable for troop withdrawl and for the dismantling of the nuclear reactor at Paldiski. The president hopes that by 1 October this year—when the U.S. Congress will be deciding on further aid to Russia—the troop withdrawal from Estonia will be completed and will not constitute a hindrance to the United States providing aid to Russia.

The meeting took place in a friendly atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Today both Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Adamishin and Estonian Foreign Minister Velliste also held a news conference. Adamishin said that territorial issues should not be raised at Estonian- Russian talks. "Our relations are not so good that we can afford to aggravate them further with territorial issues," Adamishin said. He added that Russia will not give up any land under its jurisdiction where Russians make up the majority of the population. According to Adamishin, territorial issues should be frozen for an indefinite period.

Interior Minister Tours Southeast, Comments on Talks

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[Excerpts] Interior Minister Lagle Parek has been touring southeast Estonia for several days and had quite a few meetings. It seems the tour had several aims.

[Begin Parek recording] We planned it together with Johannes Kert, Defense League [Kaitseliit] commander, with the idea that we need to work together as much as possible. This is a problem for the entire government: we keep crossing divisions inside ministries and setting up interministerial commissions as it is necessary to solve problems comprehensively. To ensure security for the Estonians, all capable forces must work together. [passage omitted] The Defense League, as an organization that has emerged from below, from the popular initiative, and the police, which was developed from the militia and has always been representative of authority, must find a common lauguage, even though that is difficult. But now, we are stretching out a hand to both, and we want them to work together; then we can hope for success. And, of course, one must definitely add border guards as a third force because, with the current shortage of manpower, it would be good for the border guards to have the Defense League, whom they can ask for help, in the background. The men on the border are, in fact, I would say, well, exhausted—they work very long hours. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Latvia

No Confidence Motion in Prime Minister Voted Down

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[Text] We nearly have come to a situation when Latvia could have been left without a government shortly before the elections. It was envisaged that this morning the Supreme Council would consider nothing less than a draft resolution of no confidence in the premier. Let me remind you that the draft resolution was submitted, according to Godmanis, by deputies who have always worked against the government. Here I quote: For example, Juris Bojars, Valdis Steins and Ojars Blumbergs.

Rasma Malinovska, journalist at the Supreme Council press center, will tell us about the fate of this draft resolution.

[Malinovska] Supreme Council deputies considered at their sitting this morning the need to include on (?today's) agenda an issue of the expression of no confidence in Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis. The following are the views of some deputies.

Juris Dobelis believes, for example, that this government should answer only to the assembly. Emerita Bukele, speaking on behalf of Bauska region residents, stressed that people certainly do not believe in this government and are accusing it of thriftlessness or even deliberate squandering of resources. However, since it has been endured for three years, it can be endured for another month, because the resignation of the government could create not only economic but also political chaos.

Deputy Aleksandrs Kirsteins ended the discussion in the following way:

[Begin Kirsteins recording] The Constitution Faction also discussed this issue yesterday. Opinions varied and we voted after that.

We investigated the activities of the government and examined some resolutions adopted, let us say, only during the last two years. I also completely agree with Mr. Blumbergs that there is no point in worrying about 400 million [reference to scandal involving $400 million], because it is just a trifle for Latvia, bearing in mind that no money was received. If we had received it, if it had been given to somebody, then we would have worried. But it was simply not received.

I would like, however, give you just one example. I have just for fun found a resolution which came into force on 1 September 1992 on a temporary regulation affecting trade in nonferrous metals, which was passed by the Latvian Ministry of Industry and Power together With the then Ministry of Foreign Trade. The resolution stipulates that only the Latvian nonferrous metals enterprise will in future buy metals in Latvia. So then, dear deputies, this resolution came into force on 1 September. Then I looked into an issue of the "SM" advertisement paper, which was published two months later - on 22 October. And what did I find there? Fifty firms buy nonferrous metals in Latvia. This was two months after the resolution that only the Latvian nonferrous metals enterprise is allowed to buy nonferrous metals.

So then, this classic example shows that during these three years the Latvian government has had only one principle: everyone in all places, I mean private structures, - no one cares about anything. That is the only principle that the Latvian government has had during these three years.

Over that period, 94 tonnes of nonferrous metals were stolen from Latvian railways in just one year, everything was stolen, from the candlesticks of the Straupe church to culture monuments, right? In each region on average, let us say, transformers were stolen to the value of two million and so on. So then, there follows this nice government's resolution allowing only the Latvian nonferrous metals enterprise to buy metals.

Do we want in this case to vote today and to waste time in general in replacing this government? We would have had to consider in this respect everything taken together, right? If the premier stepped down then practically all the government would have to step down. And taking into account that there are perhaps only two incomplete months left to work, there is certainly no point in touching this problem. The opinion of the Constitution Faction, as a result of a vote, was that this issue should not be considered due to its unfortunate consequences. [end recording]

[Malinovska] As a result of the voting, it appeared that only 24 of the deputies present were in favor of the draft resolution on no confidence in Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis being considered at today's sitting of the parliament. Sixty-four of the deputies present voted against and 35 abstained.

Russian Envoy Says 'Complications' May Slow Troop Withdrawal

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[Text] The Russian Ambassador to Latvia, Aleksandr Rannikh, in an interview with the German agency DPA, has announced that if Latvia continues to create complications in bilateral relations, then Russia will not be able to withdraw its troops by the end of 1994 as envisaged. In Rannikh's view, Latvia's electoral law violates human rights. (?Blood is not being shed) in Latvia, yet innumerable injustices are being committed against the Russian-speaking minority. Rannikh said this in an interview with DPA.

In turn, Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs has told the same agency that Russia still wants to rule over Latvia.